THE BUILDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

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FOREWORD

Booker Ngesa Omole
Communist Party of Kenya, Party School

This book denotes the foundational stone of the Communist Party of Kenya. It is a collection of the Party's communications, reflections, analyses and debates published in unedited, unhidden and unaltered form. The articles were written or presented by members of the Party and many comrades who stand in solidarity with the socialist movement in Kenya. It sets the ground for things to come and will prove a helpful resource to future socialists and revolutionaries who will join the communist movement in Kenya and around the world.

In sharing these articles, we are placing a point of reference that will resonate beyond this moment. By presenting it unsaddled by recriminations or apologies, the raw articles expose the internal and external struggles of the Party; inviting you to study, critique and potentially draw inspiration from our Journey. It is also an intimate fireside view of the Leftist struggle in a pro-capitalist country devoted to subverting the socialist movement. We hope you will return time and time again to these articles in order to collaborate, debate or rebut your own experiences.

While the articles will speak for themselves, we hope they leave you with four treasured gems: understanding, appreciation, advancement and authority of the nature and purpose of the Communist Party in Kenya. With these gems in your pocket, you will be all caught up and hopefully on the same page as we take the next steps together.

The understanding that revolution is not a single moment or event. By going through these articles one by one, you will come across the parched thoughts, words and disjointed movements that have helped shape the idea, organisation and movement that

is the Communist Party of Kenya. By going through our history, the internal decisions and activities that took us from the Social Democratic Party to the Communist Party of Kenya, you will feel like you are shedding an old skin of long-held ideas that itched to come out and contradict the artificial world that has been created by Capitalist propaganda and propped up by successive pro-capitalist regimes that have governed Kenya.

An appreciation of the universal nature of the struggle: not just an internal struggle of the Party or the things happening in this country. You will be taken outside Kenya. There, you will hear the same words and read the same songs: these nagging ideas and itchy thoughts that many Kenyans are experiencing have a common source. That they are caused by systemic exploitation and supervised suppression, and Kenya's case is neither new nor unique. That the same exploitation is taking place all over the world to the majority of the working class and the people who drive and sustain their countries, and it is happening right now. We hope you will find sympathy, but also some relief, and that, by their struggle, you will also feel seen and united because you share the same fears, hopes and desires for a better world—a classless society.

The advancement of Socialism is an experiment that scientifically applies socialist ideology in the political, economic and all other aspects of society. It is neither conjecture nor is it the reactionary rhetoric so favoured by our local leaders. From these articles, you will learn that Socialism is not a new idea. Socialism, the scientific doctrine of the liberation of the majority against the dictatorship of the minority, is on the rise. Fresh from your appreciation of capitalism's cruel and brutal nature in those countries, you will cleanse your palette with a collage of articles, biographies, reviews and studies of the way comrades in other

parts of the world have interpreted Socialism. While not many have advanced it to such lofty levels like China's Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, it is still inspiring to see the scientific application of Socialism in action.

The authority of the Communist Party of Kenya is anchored in the Kenyan workers and peasants; these are the true heroes. When called upon, they have answered without hesitation; they have martyred in the streets to challenge the fascist neo-colonial state that continues to dominate the Kenyan majority, subjugating them to hunger, disease and ignorance. The Communist Party of Kenya is a product of struggle. Today we have earned our right to be a registered political party under bourgeois legality. With this mandate, the Party can now organise overtly; the Party has been debating, protesting, educating and participating in diverse forums to bring out the socialist voice and provide context. Furthermore, the Party is actively watching and reacting to key national and international issues and providing progressive solutions, such as offering scientific and theoretical frameworks for action grounded in the immortal scientific theory of the liberation of the world majority—Marxism-Leninism.

Our foundational story is an important reminder that self-reflection, internal and external critique and correction is the only way we can learn and improve as a Party and society. With these humbling lessons, we hope you will join us as we level up our struggle and move on to the next step in the revolution.

Down with capitalism!
Socialism is the answer!

PART I
THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

An open invitation into the inner workings of the Communist Party of Kenya, CPK. Before we were CPK, we existed as the Social Democratic Party of Kenya, or SDP. Like all communists, we have had to fight for our right to exist within Kenya's bourgeois legality. This battle is proof that despite the constitutional provision for Kenyans to form a party of their choosing—ideology notwithstanding—the capitalist forces are so strong that the idea was rejected by the political elite and the state institutions mandated by the same constitution to be impartial.

In this section, we share our experiences and reveal our Party's documents, programs and reflections during different activities, experiences and crisis. We have used all these struggles and looked back at every crisis as an opportunity to learn. By learning, we have improved day by day. We will keep improving to build a strong movement and stable Party based on rigorous discourse that aligns with Marxist-Leninist philosophy and espouses the socialist ideas flavoured in our Kenyan society and African roots.

One interesting thing about this section is the Party's internal struggles. Some are within the Party itself, for example, 2022 split where a minority broke off to join the Kenya Kwanza Alliance, and others are internal struggles where revolutionaries and members share their experiences. It is exhausting; it is a genuine struggle, and the commitment to the struggle, even for a short while, changes you as much as it changes others around you.

THE ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF COMRADE GACHEKE GACHIHI AND THE SEVEN PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS IS A TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
19 December 2014

On 18th December 2014, Kenyans from different mass organisations held a peaceful demonstration in Nairobi, protesting the passing of the Security Amendment bill 2014 by the National Assembly. Their intention was to present a petition to Parliament, outlining their displeasure with the sections of the Bill that were in complete violation of Chapter Four (Bill of Rights) of the Constitution of Kenya.

No sooner had the demonstrators arrived on Parliament road, than the heavily armed GSU and AP policemen (who were outside Parliament in their hundreds) descended on them with Rungus and kicks.

The Policemen, on the orders of OCPD Central, started arresting some of the demonstrators, all of whom were demanding to know why they were being arrested.

The eight Comrades from Bunge La Mwananchi Social Movement; Comrades Kenneth Kirimi, Okello Odhiambo, John Koome, Wilfred Olal, Francis Sakwa, Dennis Okoth, Dennis Olema and Gacheke Gachihi (who is SDP's Secretary for Mass Mobilisation) were beaten and tortured on their way to Central police Station, where they spent the night after been denied Cash bail, and Medical Attention.

They were arraigned at the Milimani Law Courts the following day (19 December 2014) before Resident Magistrate Miriam Mugure, where they were charged with participating in an unlawful demonstration.

This charge is in itself non-existent, since Article 37 of the Constitution gives every Kenyan the right to "**Peaceably and unarmed, demonstrate, picket and present petitions to State officials**."

They were also charged with the "crime" of stating that "*polisi ni wale wale*."

Their lawyers (from KHRC and other organisations) sought for the dismissal of the charges on the basis that they were unconstitutional, but the magistrate upheld the charges. The lawyers then pleaded for cash bail for the eight, but they were instead slapped with bonds of ksh300, 000 each!

This is not only a travesty of justice, but also a reminder of the Nyayo era tactics, where the state would use elements in the Judiciary to curtail and infringe on the rights of Kenyans.

This not only shows how rotten the Judiciary is, in spite of the reforms being implemented, but also shows how the State is hell bent to return Kenya to the dark days.

The SDP has instructed its lawyers to petition the Judiciary Service Commission (JSC) for the removal of Magistrate Miriam Mugure, on grounds of incompetence.

The SDP is also asking its members and supporters to show solidarity by attending the mention of the matter on Tuesday 23rd December 2014 at Milimani Law Courts, starting 9:00am, where an application for a free bail/cash bail for all the accused will be made.

The SDP reminds the Jubilee government, and their elements in the Judiciary, that the people of Kenya rejected dictatorship long ago, and we are not going to allow them to drag us back into repression.

REQUEST FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK
1 May 2019

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) came into being on the 5th of January 2019, after the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) resolved in its 5th Party congress to change its name. The Social Democratic Party of Kenya, in spite of its name, has always been a Communist Party with regards to its ideology, constitution, character and methods of operation.

However, it had maintained this name because of the dictatorial political environment that historically existed in Kenya and was politically defeated in 2003, and legally removed from reality in 2010 with the promulgation of a highly progressive National Constitution (the Constitution itself was a result of protracted struggles for multi-party democracy, political rights, social justice, human rights, and the struggle for a better future for the Kenyan people of which the Party was instrumental in formulating).

It is with regard to this new environment and the growth of the Party that the Party resolved to change its name from Social Democratic Party of Kenya to the Communist Party of Kenya.

However, the Government of Kenya has refused to gazette/register the new name, claiming that Kenya is a neo-liberal capitalist State, and it therefore cannot allow socialist/communist parties.

This type of thinking is some hang-over from the dictatorship that was politically defeated in 2003. This decision by the Registrar of Political Parties has no legal basis whatsoever, and the Party has vowed to fight for its name and its ideology.

The Party has, since Monday 4th of February 2019 received overwhelming support from Kenyans many of whom do not subscribe to Socialist ideas, but are nevertheless in support of our constitutional right to follow the political beliefs of our choice.

The Party has planned a series of legal and political actions to counter such reactionary ideas.

It is in this regard that we also request for solidarity from revolutionary parties and organizations across the world since anti-communism in Kenya is anti-communism across the planet.

Long live the Struggle for Socialism!
Long live the Communist Party of Kenya!
Down with Capitalism! Down!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA CHARTER

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Booker Ngesa, Benedict Wachira, Jecinta Kamau, Sylvia Mbaabu, Margaret Mwabili, Tony Mboyo, and Gacheke Gachihi, Central Committee - CPK
20 March 2019

Kenyans demand social justice!
The future of Kenya can only be rooted in socialism.
We cannot build a future on the suffering of many Kenyans for the benefit of a few.

WHEREAS a Government reflecting all the people of Kenya, and excluding none, is an historical demand of the Kenyan People;

AND CONSCIOUS of Kenya's noble history and greatness and its true traditions of national struggle for its ideals;

AND WHEREAS we cannot base or build our society on class division, prejudice, fear or hatred of each other; and whereas Safety will not be found in the bosom of one's ethnic or racial cocoon, nor will the nation advance by the making of war pacts between the potentates of fiefdoms or tribal warlords, which besides cannot be a formula for choosing our Presidents or the lawmakers in Bunge;

AND WHEREAS Kenyans have rejected dictatorship and must substitute government as an opportunity for personal enrichment with government as a duty to the people;

ACKNOWLEDGING WITH GRATITUDE AND HUMILITY the lives, struggles, sacrifices, fortitude and courage of those in whose path we follow to ensure a free and truly independent Kenya AND PLEDGING that we will not betray them or our people now or in the future;

RECALLING that those elders, who died or survived with great suffering in the struggles for national freedom, with their lives and blood gave us self-respect in the period and aftermath of colonial domination. To them we owe and return, and shall forever return, our respect and give them also our admiration and affection, and seek to emulate their love for our country, courage and persistence against tyranny and corruption;

WE PROMISE THEM THAT THEY SHALL NOT BE FORGOTTEN nor their deeds be unknown to our children in the generations to come, and that the deceitful veils that still withhold true acknowledgment of them will be torn away;

AND WE FURTHER PROMISE THAT THIS NATION in generations to come is inherited by the spirit of its freedom fighters and not that of its Home Guards, from wherever they come;

AND WE FURTHER PROMISE that those who were ready to give up their lives, freedom and few possessions for others and a better Kenya for all after 1963, in 1966 and thereafter, and who lit candles in the encroaching gloom of successive debased, murderous and corrupt governments of betrayal will not have made their sacrifices in vain;

AND RESTATING THAT THE UNDERSTANDING of all our freedom fighters of the phenomena of colonialism, imperialism and the forces of exploitation and extraction in our country, our region and our continent is our guiding light and that our understanding of this is critical and necessary to the realization of CPK's political tasks and socialist ideological beliefs;

AND WHEREAS we need to reclaim our country and give it its true national and international outlook, democracy and justice,

with a government founded on institutionalized systems of participatory democracy, our history of struggle and the ideology of socialism;

RESTATING THAT THE ATTACK ON POVERTY IS OUR NATION'S MOST URGENT PRIORITY AND THUS OUR FIRST DUTY TO OUR PEOPLE;

REALISING THAT ONLY THROUGH SOCIALISM CAN THE MAJORITY EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED KENYANS BE LIBERATED;

NOW THEREFORE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA (CPK) COMMITS ITSELF TO SOCIALISM AND THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES THAT ITS DECISIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE, AND SHALL REMAIN, GOVERNED BY ITS IDEALS, PRINCIPLES AND BELIEFS THAT:

The unity of the Kenyan people, led by the working class, is paramount and the firmest guarantee of the well-being of every Kenyan.

The CPK denounces and categorically rejects political activity and political parties based upon ethnicity, regional origin, gender or religious divisions.

The CPK rejects ethnic or racial hegemony by any group or groups. Every Kenyan is a part of the nation and its rightful beneficiary. Our diverse peoples in unity are cords of unassailable strength.

The unity of Kenya is the bedrock of all our national political, economic and social activity and the test of our political actors and actions.

All Kenyans are equal parts of Kenya, equal in dignity, in the equal right to resources and to equal opportunity.

The CPK's urgent task is to ensure a national democratic change away from the destruction, sectionalism and inequities of the past and the present.

The CPK's ultimate task is the establishment of socialism and a socialist state in Kenya.

The CPK is and shall remain a political party committed to socialism.

The values and ideals that Kenya brought to its nationhood in 1963 was the rejection of colonialism that among other things meant the abuse of power; the affirmation of freedom, both national and individual, of safety from arbitrary harm and the just access to land. Uhuru was for national unity, tolerance, hospitality and inclusiveness; for the sharing of both power and resources equitably; for freedom to think, for the concept of individual and academic independence and the flowering of creativity, among other aims.

These ideals have persisted in spite of governments of betrayal, corruption and murder.

Government is a covenant that pledges that there shall always be increasing convergence between the promises of the Constitution of Kenya and the circumstances of every Kenyan's life.

The purpose and priority of Government is to ensure that life, liberty, nutrition, health, shelter, education and democratic governance shall be adequately and increasingly the possessions of all Kenyans.

Quality and universal education shall be the foundation of Kenya's future, constantly reaching out to the frontiers of knowledge in the service of the people.

Technological knowledge and resources are made available for the widest possible use by all Kenyans in every single part of Kenya.

Attack on poverty, but more so on the huge divide between the haves and have-nots, shall always be the priority of the CPK Government and vigilance against poverty and all forms of injustice shall always be a constant.

Government is a duty carried out in accordance with principles and policies approved by the people with free and informed consent.

The CPK will be and remain real. For only words and actions that have a basis in truth and possibility have reality to those in difficulty. To a people in difficulty, change is only change if something has moved from the intent of words to the tangibility of altered circumstance in the positive direction. We must not offer only words where we can deliver action. We must not offer only hope where we can offer change. Cynicism and disappointment will be the harsh critics of false words and false hope. We must be ready to face the possibility of that criticism, spoken and unspoken, with action that is clear and decisive.

The task of government approached correctly and with the affirmation of our people, will not only make the CPK a strong force within the country but also make Kenya a strong force for social justice within our Region and on the Continent, pushing back the ever-alluring masks of reaction.

The CPK as a party and its officers and members have loyalty to the socialist ideas and ideals of the Party and not loyalty to an

individual or to any ethnic or racial group or region, ethnic hegemony or class.

The CPK will be an energetic party in County and National Parliaments and Governments, zealous about the immediate welfare of all its peoples. Government is on the basis that all its peoples are an integral part of the nation and its decisions, remembering always that our different counties are mutually interdependent in ensuring our national political and economic survival and advancement.

New resources discovered, whether oil or others, are national assets on trust for all the peoples of Kenya and are to be managed accordingly for the present and future generations, not for the personal enrichment of any holder of public office in Kenya or for the benefit of MNCs and their allies.

Kenya's destiny as a democratic socialist society, as a loyal partner in a community of nations, as a leader in our region and our Continent awaits the efforts of the CPK and all Kenyans.

So then should Kenyans join the CPK? We say do not only join us. Instead, when we come to implement change, let us already find your ready hands working. When we come out in peaceable street mass action, let us already find you there. When we come to elections, let us find you already there as our candidate or voter for that change. We will be there. Let us meet there.

CPK therefore does not ask Kenyans to follow. We say, let us instead meet in the efforts ahead of us, more and more Kenyans meeting together for the real change which is democratic socialist Kenya, the vision of the CPK and that of the overwhelming majority of Kenyans.

"Is there an alternative?" Kenyans are asking. Yes, the CPK is the alternative.

MANIFESTO OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Booker Ngesa, Benedict Wachira, Jecinta Kamau, Sylvia Mbaabu, Margaret Mwabili, Tony Mboyo, and Gacheke Gachihi, Central Committee - CPK

20 March 2019

I. Historical Background

1. CPK is the continuation of the struggle for social and national liberation in Kenya

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) is a political party registered in accordance with the Political Parties Act of 2011. CPK is committed to uniting all Kenyans irrespective of their ethnic groups, class, gender and age to work for an alternative society away from the present unjust system towards a society that realises the freedoms, human rights and development of each and all. This society is the vision and mission of the majority of Kenyans and its values are defined in Article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya.

In this regard, CPK is conscious of Kenya's noble history of struggle against foreign domination and imperialism. Our Party is the continuation of the social and national liberation struggle of the Kenyan patriots that ultimately brought about independence from British colonialism in 1963. We remember those elders who died or survived with great suffering in the struggles for national freedom. They sacrificed their lives and blood to give us self-respect in the period and aftermath of colonial domination. To them we owe and return, and shall forever return our respect and give them also our admiration and affection, and seek to emulate their love for our country, courage and persistence against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Just as our patriotic ancestors did, CPK too believes that the establishment of a democratic and sovereign Government and State whose authority comes from all people of Kenya without excluding anyone, must always remain the demand of the Kenyan People. As is evident in the Constitution of Kenya that was inaugurated in 2010, the people do not want to have the present political and economic system based on capitalist social relations. They want a system the embodies the values of human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalised, patriotism, national unity, sharing, devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people. However, these noble wishes and aspirations will only be realised when Kenya replaces the capitalist system with the socialist system.

It is upon this background that the CPK has risen to the historic challenge of spearheading the struggle to shift away from the present capitalist political, economic, social, cultural and moral arrangements that are the basis of exclusion, discrimination, oppression and reaction in order to move towards a socialist system that will bring about a new Kenya necessary for the liberation and progress of our country.

2. The position of CPK on political and social reforms

CPK has always been part and parcel of the struggle for political and social reforms in the country. This is because as a communist party, CPK believes that reforms for bettering the lives of the exploited and oppressed people even under the capitalist system are progressive and necessary. In this we agree and collaborate with other political parties, trade unions, peasant organisations, non-governmental organisations, civil society organisations and other formations that work for democracy, human rights, peace, workers' rights, civil and political liberties,

sustainable development, gender equality, women rights, youth rights, children rights, the rights of persons with special needs, and other democratic and popular demands.

However, the CPK does not view political and social reforms as an end in themselves. Neither does it believe that bourgeois democracy is the alpha and omega of democracy. CPK is conscious of the fact, proved by history throughout the world, that real freedom and liberation of the working class and the majority in society cannot happen under the capitalist system—a system based on exploitation and oppression of person by person. Instead, we insist that the road towards true freedom, development and liberation is the road that eliminates the capitalist and imperialist systems while leading the way towards the establishment of the socialist system and ultimately communism.

3. The struggle for political and social reforms

In the history of post independent Kenya, the one-party political system has been used by representatives of the ruling class to entrench the capitalist system and suppress civil and political liberties of the majority of the citizens. That is why the struggle for national and social liberation has also been the demand for a multi-party system of democracy. Today the Constitution of Kenya declares that Kenya is a multi-party democratic state. Multipartism came about after long, hard and concerted struggles of the Kenyan people. Many patriots and democracy advocates were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial, forced into exile, expelled from educational institutions, denied employment, persecuted in all ways and murdered in the struggle against the successive Kenya African National Union's (KANU) regimes that had oppressed

Kenyans and impeded democracy since independence from British colonialism in 1963.

In fact, the struggle for freedom, democracy and human rights has also been the struggle against capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and for national and social liberation. Dictatorship, corruption and mismanagement of the economy of the country also embodied the politics and culture of negative ethnicity. KANU was a stumbling block to national cohesion, development and social progress. The values and ideals that Kenya brought to its nationhood in 1963 were the rejection of colonialism that among other things meant the abuse of power and the suppression of democracy and human rights. The national liberation struggle was about the affirmation of freedom, both national and individual, safety from arbitrary harm and the right to access and ownership of land. Uhuru was for national unity, tolerance, hospitality and inclusiveness; for the sharing of both power and resources equitably; for freedom to think, for the concept of individual and academic independence and the flowering of creativity, among other aims. These noble ideals of the Kenyan people were persistently violated by the successive KANU governments that instead, hitherto, embrace dictatorship, corruption, violation of human rights, capitalism and neo-colonialism.

For these reasons, the coming of 1992 was akin to political revolution as it started the liberation of the society from the regime that was one of the most brutal dictatorships in Africa. Freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of press, civil and political liberties, recognition of the right of political parties to exist and operate and the growth and strengthening of the civil society are some of the concrete democratic gains that Kenyans achieved. However, it took another ten years before

opposition parties were able to remove the notorious KANU regime from power. Remembering the suffering they underwent under the KANU reactionary regimes, Kenyans likened the defeat of KANU in the 2002 elections to the second liberation of the country.

4. The struggle for the new national constitution

As soon as multipartism started becoming a reality in the country, Kenyans realised that it was also necessary to change the national constitution inherited from British colonialism. The constitution had only been changed by the previous regimes to entrench dictatorship, corruption, violation of human rights and primitive accumulation, especially of land property. Kenyans required a new national constitution to reflect and conserve the new system of democratic governance with popular demands for social justice, equity, equality, devolution of governance and people's participation in accruing benefits from natural resources around their communities. But just like it did to multipartism, the then Moi-KANU regime resisted constitutional reforms vehemently. Once again many Kenyans were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial, killed and persecuted in all ways before the government acceded to people's popular demand for a new constitution by forming Kenya Constitutional Review Commission (KCRC). This led to the famous Bomas Constitution that was frustrated by the reactionary forces in the government of the then National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) that managed to deny Kenyans a new national constitution in 2005.

However, the struggle of the masses of Kenya continued—leading to the achievement of the present Constitution of Kenya. The constitution that was adopted in the August 4th 2010 referendum is the culmination of several processes and struggles for social and political reforms. Like multiparty democracy, the

new Kenyan constitution is the collective achievement of popular Kenyan people's struggles from below. However, this fact has not stopped members of the ruling class who were only recently forced by mass struggles to give in to progressive change to organise parties and celebrations to claim that they are the ones that have given the country the new constitution. But their true colours are being revealed in the actual interpretation and implementation of the constitution—that is a matter of the continuation of the past and existing class struggles in the nation. In this regard, CPK's position is "*Katiba mpya mfumo mpya wa kisiasa na kiuchumi na viongozi wapya*"—New constitution new political and economic system and new leadership. CPK does not believe that the existing leadership of the country that is determined to conserve the present status quo of capitalism and neocolonialism has the will and ability to implement the constitution in the interest of progressive change and that of the exploited and oppressed citizens who form the majority. The path towards implementing the progressive reforms embodied by the constitution is a matter of class struggle that ultimately and inevitably will lead to socialism.

5. The struggle for freedom and national sovereignty continues

In spite of the realisation of a multiparty system of government and the Constitution of Kenya, Kenyans have not yet won freedom and national sovereignty. The ideals the Kenyan people had been fighting for, particularly since the 15th Century, continue to be blatantly betrayed by the successive regimes that have governed the country hitherto. Colonialism was appropriation by settlers of our best land, natural and human resources of our country for the benefit of the white settlers and the British colonial power. It was about forced labour, pass laws,

colour bar, restricted movement, denial of basic freedoms and democratic rights, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and detention, torture and humiliation. It also meant being driven into backwardness, poverty, ignorance, disease, poor and inhuman living and working conditions and lack of adequate medical care, housing and other social services to the majority of the population. During colonialism, there was low-level and limited schooling for the children of the indigenous African people. There was also mass illiteracy and ignorance, foreign domination and imposition of a foreign language and culture and total impoverishment of our people. Colonialism was war against the cultures and languages of the Kenyan people. It was subordination of African people in their own country by foreigners.

Few and limited reforms aside, the governments that took over from colonialism have maintained the system that recycles the problems our people fought against. Those whose lands were forcibly taken away by the settlers are still landless. In fact, the problem of land has exacerbated with the majority of Kenyans hardly owning enough land to subsist on. More and more are becoming landless and squatters while few families, local and foreign individuals and companies claim ownership of thousands of acres of land, a lot of it under-utilised or unused. Squatting is a way of life for the majority of indigenous Kenyans especially at the Coast and many parts of the Rift Valley. The majority of the people in urban areas live in slums.

Slave-like labour conditions still exist in foreign and locally owned plantations that pay starvation wages to poorly organised labour. Similarly, in industries and commercial enterprises, the conditions of Kenyan workers have worsened. Foreign and locally owned companies continue to exploit and expose workers

to inhuman working conditions with meagre slave-like wages. Colonial labour laws have been retained and enacted to ensure that the national workers organisations are nothing but pacifiers and demobilisers of the workers, while independent workers movements are suppressed and refused recognition. Contrary to the Constitution, many workers are denied by their employers the right to enter or form trade unions. The economy of our country is highly influenced by the plans and management of foreigners through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, with the adoption of neo-liberal social and economic policies that include privatisation of state enterprises. Privatisation has added wealth to the rich while escalating unemployment and poverty among the majority of the people.

Despite the judicial reforms being implemented under the new Constitution, the poor can hardly access justice as they cannot afford to pay lawyers' fees. The police still perpetuate the same colonial brutality against the Kenyan people; they arbitrarily arrest, detain, intimidate, harass, torture, and murder with impunity. The Kenyan prisons continue to be overcrowded and maintain their colonial character despite some minimal reforms. Our soldiers have no democratic military ideology and culture. They thus consciously or unconsciously regard the Kenyan people as their enemies.

The sovereignty of our nation has been mortgaged by those in power. Foreign nations have been granted military bases and facilities, without the consent of the people, to protect their interests in Kenya, while foreign security forces are allowed to arrest, interrogate and torture Kenyan citizens in the name of fighting terrorism. The struggle for freedom and national sovereignty therefore inevitably and of necessity continues.

II. Capitalism and imperialism in Kenya

1. Kenya is a class society

Today Kenya is sharply divided into classes, of various categories of the rich few and the majority poor; the capitalists and the workers; the exploiters and the exploited; the oppressors and the oppressed. Few families own land the size of districts while the majority of Kenyans are either landless or eke out a living in small pieces of land. Most of the Kenyan people live in abject poverty but a few are billionaires who are among the richest people in the world. While the country continues to receive foreign aid, there is enough wealth concentrated in the hands of the privileged few which is capable of bringing about development to the country. Class divisions are obvious in residential locations, living standards and lifestyles, particularly in urban areas. The education system does not offer equal opportunities to children and youth but instead it is structured to increase the gap between the rich and the poor, the rural and urban areas. The rich access the best social services, clean and safer environments, political and economic power while all this is hardly accessible to the poor who form the majority of the citizens. The economy is geared towards maintaining the status quo of capitalism and imperialism. The rich are far better placed to exercise all citizens and human rights denied to the poor.

The class and regional inequalities not only impede peace and social justice but also national unity. Under circumstances of such glaring inequalities, it is not easy to remove the bitterness, hatred, violence, lack of patriotism and feelings and expressions of negative ethnicity that engulf the country. Under the class system, the gap between the rich and the poor increases. There is also a sharp division between urban and rural areas. Most

Kenyans live in rural areas yet social services are concentrated in urban areas.

But wherever there are classes there will inevitably and of necessity be class struggles, and Kenya is not an exception. Class struggles that include workers struggles; strikes by teachers, health workers, civil servants, lecturers, plantation and industrial workers; conflicts over land and land resources; student's protests and riots; and mass demonstrations with popular demands in urban and rural areas are on the increase. Class struggles are necessary as they are the prime movers of progressive social change. However, CPK is conscious of its role of intervening to ensure that the class struggles in Kenya are not be left to happen spontaneously, instead they should be directed towards the revolutionary path.

2. Negative ethnicity and class struggles

Negative ethnicity, so called tribalism, is one of the greatest impediments to social and national liberation. It has always been used by the bourgeois elites of Kenya since the time of colonialism to perpetuate them in power. Just before, during and after national elections, the political and economic elites of various ethnic groups deliberately provoke negative ethnic feelings and even organise and sponsor violence against other ethnic groups in order to propel themselves to elective positions. They do this by pretending to be champions of the political, economic, cultural, land and land resource interests of their ethnic groups, counties and regions that are purportedly violated by the members of other ethnic groups. And since it is the ideas of those in power that dominate in a given society at a given time and place, ordinary citizens also imbue and even embrace the ideology of negative ethnicity that embodies hatred, jealousy and discrimination against other ethnic groups. The unresolved issues

of land and land resources, that embody historical injustices, have always been used to perpetuate the reactionary ideology that works against the unity of those who desire progressive change through class struggles.

On their part, the class of rich Kenyans from all ethnic groups who are part and parcel of the problem, including that of land, are always conscious of their class interests and are not prepared to help bring about just and progressive natural resource, political, economic and social reforms in the country aimed at empowering the poor, eradicating poverty and inequality. For to do so would mean compromising their own class interests, something they are not prepared to do. Instead, they keep on preaching falsehoods about seeking political power in order to bring about development, remove poverty and create a just and equitable society. Yet year after year these promises prove to be elusive living the country to continue simmering and erupting into cycles of conflict that many times develop into violence.

3. Neoliberal globalisation

The dynamic process of globalisation, particularly neo-liberal globalisation, which is in fact global capitalism spearheaded by imperialist countries, has defied nation-state boundaries to penetrate the remotest parts of the world and nations, including Kenya, where both its positive and negative effects are being felt on a daily basis. However, the process of globalisation of capitalism, its positive achievements and dynamism aside, does not imply the expansion of the benefits of the rapid scientific, technological and economic development to all countries and all continents, but rather an attempt to create a unified world system, with a handful of imperialist countries dictating their will to the rest of the world.

The most important aspect of neoliberal globalisation is the political unity of the imperialist states in imposing this process as a rule of an international legal system legalising the inclusion of the non-capitalist countries, as periphery, into the capitalist world system. Bilateral and multilateral economic and trade policies and agreements coordinated and implemented through World Trade Organisation and the twin Britton Woods Institutions—the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund—are bedrocks of the neo-colonial economic and trade policies imposed upon Kenya, Africa and developing nations.

Capitalist globalisation is affecting and negatively determining the economic, political, social and legal policies of developing countries such as Kenya. Bilateral and Multilateral policies and agreements signed in capital cities far away from Kenya and Kenyan villages nevertheless have direct and indirect impacts on lives and livelihoods not only in the cities and towns but also in the villages in rural areas, whether the people concerned are aware of them or not. Yet the policies and agreements are about the conduct of the economy, politics, trade, agriculture, food safety and security, environment, labour relations, property relations and most important the relation between Kenya and other countries and nations, particularly imperialist countries. The policies have far-reaching effects on the lives, livelihoods, culture, health and security of the people and nation.

However, as important as they are to the present and future of the country, these imperialists' policies together with their organisations remain obscure and remote to the majority of the population despite their effects upon their lives. Little is known about the multilateral and bilateral organisations and institutions by the majority of Kenyans who have to live with their decisions

and practises approved and signed by the government without their participation.

Again, numerous and complex as they are, the multilateral economic and trade policies and agreements are still deliberately opaque, covered with secrets, intrigues and signed by the government, many times through positions of ignorance, and without their participation and that of the people of Kenya. Thus, the process of reaching agreements in the multilateral economic and trade organisations Kenya is committed to, is more often than not undemocratic, to say the least. But the government, that is committed by the constitution to practise democracy, human rights, good governance, transparency and accountability and to champion national interests at home and abroad does not make concerted efforts to involve the citizens in understanding, discussing, making decisions and taking positions regarding the complex multilateral and bilateral policies before committing the country to them.

CPK is conscious of the fact that neoliberal globalisation has been and continues to be challenged, in theory and practise, throughout the world by progressive civil society organisations and particularly by communist leaders, parties, states and countries. Our party is committed to the work of mobilising Kenyans to struggle for an alternative form of globalisation—socialist globalisation. Socialist globalisation will move our country away from neoliberal globalisation and instead to take the path of development by utilising our human and natural resources to realise development and social progress while at the same time building relations of peace, solidarity and mutual benefit with other countries in the region and the world.

4. The capitalist system has failed in Kenya

1. In short, capitalism has failed in Kenya. Capitalism in all its political forms—colonial, neo-colonial, or global—has failed to serve the majority of Kenyans and has benefited only a tiny fraction of the population. Colonial capitalism benefited primarily the colonial settlers and foreign business persons; neo-colonial capitalism has admitted the rich Kenyan African while global capitalism has further admitted/allowed some professionals, including lawyers, doctors, engineers, accountants, lecturers and chief executives of local and foreign companies into the exclusive club of the rich. The majority of Kenyans' standards of living have improved little despite the seemingly major political and economic changes that have happened in the country.

2. The adoption, creation and development of economic policies geared towards neo-colonialism and neoliberalism have prevented the development of agriculture, manufacturing and industry in Kenya. Today Kenyan markets, whether in the rural or urban areas, are full of all sorts of imported sub-standard and second hand (*mtumba*) consumer goods. Trade in imported *mtumba* commodities has grown to be one of the largest formal and informal economies in the country. In the 1960s, there were hardly any *mtumba* in the Kenyan markets. This is because during the 1960s up to early 1970s, the economy of the country was performing relatively well and causing positive development. Kenyans were enjoying the standard of living that nowadays they remember only with nostalgia. The majority of Kenyans are so poor that they cannot afford to buy new essential goods. As poverty escalates and implementation of the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund cut more and more jobs through retrenchments

in the civil service, privatisation of state enterprises and the closure of local manufacturing and business enterprises unable to compete with cheap imports, Kenyans in rural and urban areas have been turned into hawkers and consumers of second-hand goods. The problem is that while *mtumba* may alleviate the immediate problem it is certainly not the long-term solution to poverty and underdevelopment. On the contrary, *mtumbaism* contributes to undermining local textile industry, agriculture and the development the local economy.

3. Capitalism is inherently unequal, exploitative and oppressive and is responsible for the growing gap between the rich few and the poor majority. Kenya is one of the most unequal societies not only in Africa, but also in the world. Poverty and inequality is an impediment of development. Capitalism inherently breeds extreme inequalities not only between classes but between regions and communities. It is the root cause of the virulent ethnic animosities in our politics today. Gender inequality and violations of the rights of the vulnerable and marginalised people in society also continue to exist in Kenya. Capitalism reveals the great possibilities for improving the material and social wellbeing of our people, but immediately closes them to the majority on account of its high inequalities in the distribution of income.

4. Capitalism is inherently and expensively wasteful. It wastes the energies of millions of Kenyans, especially the youth, by not creating jobs and pushing them into poverty. Under capitalism, Kenya's rich human and natural resources have failed to end poverty and underdevelopment. Capitalism requires and demands large pools of unemployed to keep wages and salaries down so that high profits may be obtained by the capitalists.

5. Capitalism has failed to solve the problem of the mushrooming of slums in Kenyan urban areas. The majority of the population of urban areas are forced to live in unplanned, dirty, ugly, crowded, and unsafe settlements that lack basic services and which are unfit for human habitation. Some of the largest slums in the world are found in Kenya.

6. Under capitalism crimes of all sorts including robbery, corruption, looting of public property, contraband trade, money laundering, drugs trafficking, human trafficking, violence, piracy, etc. have become part and parcel of Kenyan society. Known criminals associated with mafia type activities are elected leaders and law makers in the country. Kenyans are dominated by moral values that put money and profits before the duty to serve humanity and the nation. That is why doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants, elected leaders, teachers, lecturers, civil servants and even religious leaders do not adhere to professional ethics in the provision of services. Kenya is a person-eat-person society.

7. Under capitalism, Kenya is still dominated by imperialism economically, politically, culturally and militarily. The country is still dependent on foreign aid. The security, freedom, human rights and national sovereignty of the Kenyan people have been compromised to imperialism. Foreign security agents enter Kenya and arrest, torture and abduct citizens to foreign prisons and detention camps with impunity and connivance with the Kenyan police and government authorities.

8. Capitalism is a big lie. It lies to Kenyans that they can realise the progressive aspects of the Constitution of Kenya, particularly chapter four on human rights while still under the capitalist system based on exploitation and oppression of person by person. The truth is that the national values described by the

constitution of human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalised, patriotism, national unity, sharing, devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people cannot be realised under capitalism; only socialism.

III. Socialism in the World today

1. The twentieth century was marked by momentous changes in the world. It has been a century of struggle against imperialism. The century was witness to great revolutionary events, beginning with the October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The victory over fascism in the Second World War in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, was a major event. The historic Chinese revolution, the success of the revolutionary forces in Vietnam, Korea and Cuba and the formation of the socialist states in Eastern Europe were a product of the titanic clash between imperialism and socialism. This was also a century of national liberation movements leading to the political independence of the colonies. These victories marked a new epoch in world history as was projected by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary events of the century and the major developments in science and technology opened up grand prospects for the advancement of humanity on a scale never envisioned before.

2. The countries which adopted the socialist system blazed a new path. With the creation of the Soviet Union, for the first time in human history, the working people could live in a society free from class exploitation. Rapid industrialisation, elimination of feudal vestiges and all-round progress in the fields of economy, culture and science led to a new life for the vast mass of the people and the empowerment of the working people. The eradication of poverty and illiteracy, the elimination of

unemployment, the vast network of social security in the fields of health, education, housing and big strides in science and technology—these were the ground-breaking achievements of the socialist countries. Such remarkable progress was registered in societies where capitalism had not yet developed significantly and were relatively backward. Socialism had to be built in the difficult circumstances of overcoming socio-economic backwardness and countering the aggression, subversion and threats of imperialism. The achievements registered in the Soviet Union had their effect on the capitalist countries as well. The ruling classes were forced to introduce and extend social security for their own citizens under the concept of a welfare State.

3. However, in the course of building socialism on an uncharted path, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe committed serious mistakes. Such mistakes flowed from the improper understanding of the protracted nature of building socialism; the wrong notion of the role of the party and the State; the failure to effect timely changes in the economy and its management; the failure to deepen socialist democracy in the party, State and society; the growth of bureaucratism; and the erosion of ideological consciousness. These facilitated the sustained efforts of imperialism at subverting socialism. These distortions do not negate the validity of Marxism-Leninism, rather they represent the deviations from revolutionary theory and practice. The dismantling of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the setbacks suffered in Eastern Europe resulted in a new situation. At the end of the 20th century the forces of socialism had to once again face the challenge posed by an emboldened imperialism. The CPK is confident that notwithstanding the setbacks, the communist movement and the revolutionary forces will learn from the mistakes, regroup and

meet the challenge of countering the offensive of imperialism and the reactionary forces.

4. Despite the twists and turns, successes and reverses, the developments of the twentieth century, particularly since 1917 reflect the profound impact of socialism and the people's struggles in the evolution of human progress. The revolutionary transformations have brought about qualitative leaps in history and left an indelible imprint on modern civilisation. The process of social emancipation and socialist transformation will be a protracted and complex one. History has shown that the transformation from capitalism to socialism is not a one-stroke transformation but a prolonged period of intense struggle of classes even after acquiring State power.

5. World capitalism is incapable of solving the basic problems affecting humanity. The tremendous growth of productive forces utilising the scientific and technological advances has resulted in growth taking place in the advanced capitalist countries without increasing employment and sharply accentuating income and wealth disparities. It has led to intensified exploitation of the workers by expropriating increased rate of surplus value. The advances in science and technology are utilised to perpetuate concentration of wealth and assets in the hands of a few individuals and multinational corporations. Imperialism has proved to be a predatory and destructive system. In the twentieth century it plunged humanity into two barbaric world wars claiming millions of lives. The armaments industry has become an integral part of the advanced capitalist economies, which serves to keep the aggregate demand afloat. The neo-liberal prescriptions advocating the withdrawal of the State have led to savage cuts in social security and welfare benefits for the working class and the ordinary citizens. Jobless growth,

casualisation of labour, and growing disparities in incomes and wealth are a marked feature. The volatility of the financial system, the stagnant and low rates of growth in the advanced capitalist countries and the growing irrationality and wastage in the use of resources are all symptoms of the in-built crises in the capitalist system. The rapacious drive for profits by the multinational corporations and the extravagant consumption of the rich countries have devastated the environment and is seriously threatening the world's ecology in general and that of the third world in particular. The fundamental contradiction inherent in capitalism between the ever-growing socialisation of production and the increasingly private appropriation of the surplus has become more acute.

6. The concentration and internationalisation of finance capital has reached unprecedented heights in the current phase of capitalism. Globally mobile finance capital is assaulting the sovereignty of nations, seeking unimpeded access to their economies in pursuit of super profits. The imperialist order in the service of this speculative finance capital breaks down all barriers for its free flow and imposes the terms favourable to such capital in every part of the globe. The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation are the instruments to perpetuate this unjust post-colonial global order. The new hegemony of speculative finance capital results in sluggish growth in the advanced capitalist countries. For the developing countries it spells a vicious cycle of intensified exploitation and growing debt. The terms of trade, industrial and agricultural production, technology flows, and the services sector in the lesser-developed capitalist countries are all forced to dovetail the interests of imperialist capital. The imperialist system has divided the world into two: the rich advanced

capitalist countries and the developing countries where live the vast mass of humanity. The gap between the rich and poor countries began to sharply widen in the last two decades of the twentieth century. With the onset of the imperialist driven globalisation it has grown further.

7. With the dismantling of the Soviet Union, imperialism which was pursuing a neo-colonial strategy since the end of the old-style colonialism, has stepped up its efforts for global domination. US imperialism is using its economic, political and military power aggressively to establish its hegemony. The imperialist driven globalisation is buttressed by the expansion of NATO and military intervention around the world to impose the imperialist order. The socialist countries China, Vietnam, Cuba, Korea and Laos, faced with adverse conditions created by the change in the correlation of forces are steadfastly committed to the cause of socialism. Imperialism actively seeks to subvert the existing socialist countries and wages a relentless war in the ideological, economic and political spheres against them. Utilising the global communications revolution, imperialism, with its control over the international media, aggressively seeks to discredit and suppress anti-capitalist ideas and socialism.

8. Despite the fact that the international correlation of forces favoured imperialism at the end of the twentieth century and capitalism continues to develop productive forces with the application of new scientific and technological advances, it remains a crisis-ridden system apart from being a system of oppression, exploitation and injustice. The only system, which is an alternative to capitalism, is socialism. The people of Latin America, for example, who are repeatedly electing leftist governments, parties and leaders in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina and Brazil are realising this fact: that the path towards

social and national liberation is that of socialism. The financial and economic crises in Europe and the United States of America is escalating with bankruptcies, unemployment, poverty and anticapitalist demonstrations becoming the order of the day. The central social contradiction therefore remains that between imperialism and socialism for the epoch. The contradiction between the imperialist countries and the third world countries rapidly intensifies under the neo-liberal global offensive and it is coming to the forefront. Given the uneven development under capitalism, the contradictions within and between imperialist countries continue to exist. The contradiction between labour and capital is aggravated by the current features of capitalism as noted above. All these contradictions continue to intensify and exert their influence on world events.

9. The working class and its parties have to equip themselves ideologically, politically and organisationally to wage a relentless struggle against imperialism and its exploitative order. The unity of the Left, democratic and progressive forces around the world must be forged to fight against imperialism and defeat the ruling classes who seek to sustain and perpetuate the present unjust global order. As a Party based on proletarian internationalism, CPK is committed to fight against imperialist hegemony and expresses solidarity with all the forces in the world who are fighting against the imperialist-driven economic order of globalisation and for peace, democracy and socialism.

IV. The minimum program of the CPK

1. Towards an independent, developing, integrated and self-sustaining economy

The majority of Kenyans live a life of poverty. Poverty, which is a manifestation of underdevelopment, is painful, degrading, shameful and dehumanising. CPK is conscious of the

fact that underdevelopment and poverty will only be eliminated through pro-people, sound economic and social policies. Development should be measured in concrete improvement of the conditions of people's lives and not on abstract statistics of accounting figures that are presented as annual budgets but which have nothing to do with reality. To achieve sustainable development and social progress, the people must remain the subject and objects of economic, political and social policies. Poverty will be alleviated and ultimately eradicated by policies that aim, first and foremost, at providing all people with the basic necessities: food, housing, clothes and employment. This requires investment in primary economy centred projects in agriculture and industry. Investment in the secondary economy including people-oriented tourism, trade and the service sector will also help.

For the country to move away from the path of near stagnation as far as the social development or economy of the majority is concerned CPK proposes socialist oriented economic policies and plans that arise from concrete researched information about the geography of our country that spells out the potential for development in terms of human, natural and strategic resources. The policies and plans will not remain on paper but will be implemented and measured against the actual improvement of the lives of the people by such indicators as nutrition, housing, clothes, water, employment, peace, security and access to essential services such as health and education—and generally in the progressive improvement of the quantity and quality of life of the majority of the people. To realise its plans for improving the lives of the people, CPK will mobilise the human and natural resources of Kenya to build an independent, nationally integrated and self-sustaining economy. The following

dialectical relationships in the country will be analysed and utilised to inform CPK's economic policies and plans that shall establish the key links based on production, circulation, exchange and consumption: "between town and country; between agriculture and industry; between heavy and light industry; between producer goods and consumer goods; between food crops and industrial raw materials; between mass goods and luxury goods; and between internal and international markets; and between tourism and local agriculture and industry". The key links are economic objectives that will be addressed first to trigger sustainable development.

CPK will also work to shift the country away from neo-liberal economic policies and instead focus on home grown creative economic policies that are based not only on the harnessing of our natural and human resources but also on our own priorities as a nation. Neo-liberal economic policies embody antistatism policies that are geared towards privatisation of state enterprises (parastatals) and removing the state from owning property and participating in business. To CPK this is not good for Kenya, whose economy is so underdeveloped that the state hardly collects enough taxes to finance social services, cause meaningful development and create jobs. CPK's government will participate in the economy on behalf of the people while allowing the private and co-operative sectors to operate simultaneously but both regulated by the state. The present global financial and economic crisis has in fact driven capitalist countries to this conclusion. Private financial institutions, companies and industries are now being nationalised or controlled by states as chaotic capitalist market forces have failed to save them from bankruptcy and collapse.

Neo-liberalism also advocates for economic liberalisation policies that chaotically open internal markets to face unfair competition from all types of foreign goods and thus killing local agriculture, trade and industry. CPK believes that the state has the obligation to protect and nurture local agriculture, trade and industry and therefore jobs. Kenya needs direct foreign investments but not in the sectors that Kenyans are capable of investing, and developing on their own or that are to do with protecting our national sovereignty.

CPK will also implement policies that aim at phasing out the economy based on second hand commodities (*mtumbaism*) and importation of sub-standard goods. *Mtumbaism* prevents the growth of local industry, agriculture and trade. The question of Kenya's external debts will to be addressed and negotiated with lenders in favour of debt relief to the country to allow economic recovery and growth.

2. Summary of CPK's minimum program

The minimum program of CPK will be implemented in the stage of transformation of Kenyan society in which the highly productive/innovative aspects of capitalism will be put to the benefit of the development of the whole society by ameliorating, in a democratic manner, the socio-economic consequences and inhuman conditions created by capitalism. Our program is the partial antidote of the unacceptable social conditions of the poverty, exploitation, oppression and underdevelopment existing in Kenya today:

CPK will retain all the progressive aspects of capitalism and put them into the service of the people, instead of the current search of super profits for the few.

CPK will create conditions for providing social security for all Kenyans by building a three tier democratic and

complimentary economic system composed of the state, cooperative and private sectors.

CPK will struggle against the illegitimate debt burden imposed on the country through unequal power, trade and other relations.

CPK will work to defend and consolidate the progressive political reforms and democratic gains won by the struggle of the people and that are embodied in the Constitution of Kenya. In this regard, CPK will collaborate with other progressive Kenyans, parties and movements to struggle for the realisation of the basic tenets of the constitution on the sovereignty of the people, human rights, national values, separation of powers, checks and balances and devolution of governments with popular participation of the people at all levels of government.

CPK will collaborate with the private sector and international partners to finance the large socio-economic development agenda necessary for triggering a national self-sustaining economy.

CPK will provide and guarantee, progressively, basic needs and services to the individual and the family, such as security to a person, shelter, food, water, health, education and employment that are also entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya.

CPK will reinstate freedom and sovereignty over our country, people and resources rather than surrendering our nation to imperialism as is the case today.

CPK will foster partnership with the Kenyan people in the ownership and provision of services by the commanding heights of the economy, such as money/banks/financial institutions, transport and communications, and infrastructure, major natural water towers and water works, power generation, etc.

CPK will engage the most suitable technologies available in the provision of services and implementation of development and maintenance of projects. We need not invent the wheel; we need only adopt it and make it work for our purposes.

CPK will mobilise and facilitate Kenyans to conserve, protect, develop and utilise our natural resources and environment sustainably for the present and future generations of Kenyans. The Party will make and implement policies that will ensure investment in natural resources brings direct and indirect benefits to the local communities.

CPK will strive to provide for public-funded universal and compulsory primary and secondary education as a first stage. It will also provide high quality, affordable and subsidised college and university education, with the ultimate objective of making education free at all levels. At the same time our Party will mobilise Kenyans to formulate a socialist education and cultural policy that aims at eradicating illiteracy and producing conscious, creative and independent human beings capable of releasing their individual talents, knowledge and skills in the service of the nation, society and humanity.

CPK will implement policies of fighting negative ethnicity and of building national cohesion. It will mobilise Kenyans to celebrate their rich cultural diversity in the interest of national unity. Our party will develop the national and official languages of Kenya as well as those of the various Kenyan nationalities.

CPK will adopt a class and gender approach to development in all spheres of life.

CPK will implement chapter eleven of the Constitution of Kenya to reduce the gap between urban and rural areas and to lead to equality between the various regions and counties of our country.

CPK will implement a foreign policy based on peace and friendship with all nations of the world based on relations of reciprocity and the right of all nations to self-determination. The Party will also forge special and close ties with socialist countries and people struggling for freedom from capitalism and imperialism.

CPK will disseminate socialist ideas and will strive to deepen the debate on the alternatives to neo-liberalism and capitalism.

CPK will participate in the struggle for African Unity and socialism in the African continent in the spirit of Africa Left Network Forum (ALNEF).

V. The maximum program of the CPK—Socialism

CPK is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and all oppressed and exploited people of Kenya. Its maximum program is the establishment of socialism and ultimately communism in Kenya, East African Community, Africa and the world. In all its activities, the Party is guided by the philosophy and principles of Marxism-Leninism which shows to the toiling masses the correct way to the ending of exploitation of person by person, their complete emancipation. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism that has been developed and enriched by communists and communist parties of different countries of the world will be applied by CPK creatively to solve definite problems in definite historical, cultural and other material conditions of Kenya. The Party shall keep high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Booker Ngesa, Benedict Wachira, Jecinta Kamau, Sylvia Mbaabu, Margaret Mwabili, Tony Mboyo, and Gacheke Gachihi, Central Committee - CPK

20 March 2019

Article 1: Name

The name of the organization is the Communist Party of Kenya, and herein referred to as the Party/Organisation, and is abbreviated as CPK.

Article 2: Purpose of the Party

1. To sensitize, educate, recruit, mobilize people to understand and practice the ideals and tenets of Socialism.

2. To work towards a classless society, by overcoming all forms of exploitation and oppression of person by person.

3. To work towards people's power, by actively participating in, and identifying with the people's struggle.

4. To instil the idea of internationalism, and fight oppression anywhere in the world.

5. To spearhead solidarity and friendship with Socialist countries and Parties in Africa and the world.

6. To work towards successful integration and unity of the East African Community.

7. To accelerate and work towards the unification of the African people and the African States.

8. To fight for the defeat of the relics of colonialism, neo-colonialism and dictatorship in all their manifestation.

9. To struggle against the illegitimate debt burden imposed on the country through unequal power, trade and other relations with imperialist countries.

10. To struggle to defeat imperialism and its local stooges in Kenya and the world.

11. To participate in national elections in order to win political power in our national circumstances and to build popular, democratic and progressive spaces.

12. To form or enter into alliances with other political parties, organisations and other social formations in Kenya, the East African Community, Africa and the world for a common purpose that is consistent with this Constitution and the Party Manifesto.

13. To struggle for a balanced industrial, agricultural and developmental trajectory which also takes into consideration the environmental interests.

14. To fight neo-liberalism and capitalism and provide alternative economic and development policies based on socialism applied creatively to the material and historical conditions of Kenya.

15. To consolidate, defend and further the democratic gains won by the struggle of Kenyans hitherto, including the Constitution of Kenya.

16. To work towards building a socialist State and society in Kenya.

Article 3: Character of the Party.

1. The Party is a vanguard Party, as well as a mass organization, based on understanding of Marxism-Leninism, and its application to the existing conditions.

2. The Party is a people's organisation. Its paramount interest are the interests of the broadest masses of the people. Members of the Party must never delink themselves from the masses.

3. The Party operates under the principle of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is a combination of centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. The sense of organization and discipline must be strengthened, and all members are equal before the organization's discipline. In its internal political activities, the Party conducts criticism and self-criticism in the correct way, upholding truth and rectifying mistakes. Final decisions made by the majority or by the elected bodies bind all members.

4. Leadership in the Party means mainly political, ideological and organizational leadership in accordance with this Constitution.

5. The leadership of the Party shall include Special Interest Groups, and shall have not more than two-thirds of its composition being of the same sex, except in Party organisations or institutions whose membership is of one sex.

Article 4: Membership/Cadres

4.1 General Membership Procedures

1. Membership is open to all workers, peasants and farmers, intellectuals, artists, students, professionals and all Kenyans above the age of 18 who agree with the ideology of the Party.

2. Membership is also open to Kenyans living outside Kenya.

3. Membership is by induction, which is done after one accepts to abide by the Party Constitution, signs the Party Code of Conduct and pays the membership fees.

4. Membership is on a voluntary basis.

5. When rejection of application for membership is done, the reasons must be supported in writing.

6. Membership records must be updated from the Cells to the highest level at most after every three months.

7. Members shall pay a membership fee, and a monthly fee as determined by the Central Committee. The Central Committee may establish differentiated monthly fees for Party members who are elected or appointed into various arms and positions of government; are in various positions of leadership of the Party; or belong to any other group that differentiated fees may apply.

4.2 Disputes and Discipline of Members

1. A member who is found guilty of a breach of any provision of this Constitution or any other conduct detrimental to the party shall be subjected to discipline by the party.

2. The Central Committee may adopt a list of offences in terms of which a member may be charged for a breach of party discipline.

3. Disciplinary proceedings will normally be conducted at the level where the alleged violation or offence took place.

4. A member can be suspended from the Party or his/her duties if 50% of the members at the level in question approve the suspension.

5. A member can be expelled from the Party if 70% of the members at the level in question approve the expulsion, subject to subsection 4.2.17.

6. A suspension must not exceed two months.

7. Suspended and expelled members have a right to appeal to their respective levels or to higher organs of the Party.

8. The Cell, County Committee or the Central Committee shall appoint a disciplinary committee of not less than 2 and not more than 5 persons to hear disputes and disciplinary matters at the respective levels.

9. The Central Committee may direct that dispute resolution processes and the disciplinary proceedings be heard at a higher level than where the dispute or the alleged violation took place.

10. Any person facing disciplinary proceedings shall receive at least one week's written notice of any hearing, as well as the basic allegations and charges against him or her and be afforded a reasonable opportunity to make his or her defence. Parties to a dispute shall also receive at least one week's written notice of any resolution process, as well as the issues raised by any of the party.

11. The dispute resolution processes and the disciplinary proceedings shall be completed within 60 days of the member/s receiving the notice of hearing.

12. No member shall be judged or disciplined without a proper hearing.

13. The Central Committee shall draw up rules of procedure to be followed during a resolution/ hearing process.

14. Refusal to participate in a disciplinary hearing or to accept the authority of the relevant party structure to impose disciplinary action shall constitute a serious offence, requiring immediate suspension for a period of at least 30 days. At the end of this period, the disciplinary hearing shall be restarted, and should the member repeat such a refusal, the member shall be expelled from the party by the Central Committee.

15. The case against a member facing disciplinary action shall proceed even if that member resigns or refuses to appear

before the disciplinary committee. Penalties shall include a reprimand, fines, payment of compensation, the performance of useful tasks, suspension or expulsion.

16. The penalties imposed by a cell or a county committee shall be reported immediately to the higher level.

17. Expulsion shall be imposed only by the Central Committee acting either on its own initiative or after receiving a fully documented recommendation from a county committee.

18. A suspended member shall not be allowed to attend meetings of any Party structure during the period of suspension except by special invitation.

19. Any person found guilty in a disciplinary proceeding shall have the right to appeal to the Central Committee, and for the Central Committee members, to the National Congress.

20. The lodging of an appeal shall not postpone the operation of the penalty.

21. Dispute resolution processes as well as disciplinary hearings shall be heard and determined at the Party Headquarters, or at the County offices, or at the venue where the cell usually meets for its ordinary meetings.

22. Dispute resolution process will in addition employ negotiation, conciliation, mediation, internal party arbitration or a mixture of either methods.

Article 5: Duties and Rights of Cadres and Members

5.1 Duties

1. To conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism. Study the Party's principles, policies and decisions, acquire essential knowledge concerning socialism, and obtain general, scientific, artistic and professional knowledge, and work diligently to enhance their ability to serve the people.

2. To implement the Party's basic principles and policies and play an exemplary and vanguard role in production, work, study and social activities.

3. To conscientiously observe the Party's laws, rigorously guard secrets of the Party, execute the Party's decisions, and accept any job and actively fulfil any task assigned them by the Party.

4. To uphold the Party's solidarity and unity, be loyal to and honest with the Party, match words with deeds, firmly oppose all factions and small-clique activities and oppose double-dealing and scheming of any kind.

5. To earnestly engage in criticism and self-criticism, boldly expose and correct shortcomings and mistakes.

6. To maintain close ties with the masses, disseminate the Party's views among them, consult with them when problems arise, keep the Party informed of their views and demands in good time and defend their legitimate interests.

7. To promote new socialist ways and customs and advocate communist ethics. To step forward and fight bravely in times of difficulty or danger, daring to make any sacrifice to defend the interests of the people.

8. Cadres shall form the vanguard of the Party.

5.2 Rights

1. To attend relevant Party meetings and read relevant Party documents. In the case of relevant documents that are kept by a specific officer, a two-week notice should be given.

2. To participate in the discussion of questions concerning the Party's operations at meetings.

3. To make suggestions and proposals regarding the operations of the Party.

4. To make well-grounded criticism of any Party organisation or member at Party meetings, to present information or charges against any Party organisation or member concerning violations of discipline or the law to the Party in a responsible way, to demand disciplinary measures against such a member, or call for dismissal or replacement of any incompetent cadre.

5. To participate in voting and elections and to stand for election.

6. To attend, with the right of self-defence, disciplinary meetings concerning them.

7. In case of disagreement with a Party decision or policy, to make reservations and present their views to Party organisations at higher levels even up to the Central Committee, provided that they resolutely carry out the decision or policy while it is in force.

8. To resign from the Party. This should be done in writing.

No Party organisation, up to and including the Central Committee, has the right to deprive any Party member of the above-mentioned rights.

Article 6: Organization System

1. Individual members are subordinate to the organisation, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower Party organisations are subordinate to the higher Party organisations and all the constituent organisations and members of the Party are subordinate to the National Congress and the Central Committee of the Party.

2. The Party's leading bodies at all levels are elected except for the representative organs dispatched by them.

3. The highest leading body is the National Congress and the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of local organisations are the congresses at their respective levels and the

committees elected by them. Committees are responsible, and report their work, to the congresses at their respective levels.

4. Higher Party organisations shall pay constant attention to the views of lower organisations and the rank-and-file members, and solve in good time the problems they raise. Lower organisations shall report on their work to, and request instructions from, higher organisations; at the same time, they shall handle, independently and in a responsible manner, matters within their jurisdiction. Higher and lower Party organisations should exchange information and support and supervise each other. Party organisations at all levels should enable members to keep well informed of inner-affairs and to have as many opportunities as possible to involve themselves in them.

5. Committees at all levels function on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility based on division of labour. All major issues shall be decided upon by the committees after discussion in accordance with the principle of collective leadership, democratic centralism, individual consultations and decision by meetings. The members of the committees should earnestly perform their duties in accordance with the collective decisions taken and division of labour.

6. Internal disputes shall be resolved within the body in dispute itself, following the methods stipulated in this Constitution and through democratic centralism.

Article 7: Organisation Levels

7.1 Cells

1. Cells are the basic organs of the Party.

2. They shall be formed in enterprises, industries, estates, villages, rural areas, government departments, schools, scientific

research institutes, art institutes, communities, mass organisations and in diaspora.

3. The cells will have a Chairperson, Secretary, Organising Secretary, Treasurer and any other official they may deem necessary.

4. Cells are the militant bastions of the Party in the basic units of society, where the entire Party's work proceeds and they serve as the foundation of its advocacy capacity. Their main tasks are:

a) To disseminate and carry out the principles and policies, the decisions of the Central Committee and other higher committees, and their own decisions; to give full play to the exemplary, vanguard role of members, and to unite and organise the cadres and the rank and file inside and outside the Party to fulfil the tasks of their own units.

b) To organise members to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism, and to obtain other general, scientific, artistic and professional knowledge.

c) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly seek their criticisms and opinions regarding cell members and the Party's work, safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the masses and do effective ideological and political work among them.

d) To give full scope to the initiative and creativeness of members and the masses and to discover, nurture and recommend fine, talented people from among members and the masses and encourage them to contribute their skills and learning to the socialist drive.

e) To educate and train the activists who apply for Party membership, attend to the routine work concerning the recruitment of new members and attach great importance to

recruiting members from among those in the forefront of production and work and from the masses.

f) To encourage members and the masses to conscientiously resist unhealthy practices and wage resolute struggles against all illegal and criminal activities. Where cells take on a size of 20-30 members or more, it may be sensible to divide the group into more than one cell based on region, workplace, industry, campus etc. This shall be left to the discretion of the cell and shall be decided by majority vote of the cell's members.

Cells may choose to name themselves by the collective decision of its members. Cells could be named after prominent/revolutionary figures as a means of honouring and remembering their contribution and educating people of their revolutionary history.

Several cells in the same region may unite and form a Ward, Constituency or regional body.

Cells formed in learning institutions may be referred to as Clubs.

7.2 County Committee

The County Committee shall be elected by all the chairpersons, Secretaries and a member, from all the cells in the County (the member shall be nominated by his/her cell, and shall be of opposite sex where both the Chairperson and the Secretary are of the same sex), from whom they shall elect a chairperson, a secretary, an organising secretary, a treasurer and eleven other members, ensuring that at least one-third of this committee is of opposite sex.

Their roles shall be:

1. To hear and examine the reports of the cell committees at the corresponding levels.

2. To oversee and approve the formation of ward, constituency or any other regional body that may be formed by the cells within the county.

3. To coordinate major activities in the county.

4. To discuss and decide on major issues in the county.

5. To forward to the Central Committee, proposed names of candidates to be nominated for all elective county positions in the respective county.

The County Committee shall meet at least once every two months.

7.3 National Congress

The National Congress shall be constituted of the Chairperson, the Secretary and a member from each County Committee (the member shall be nominated by his/her County, and shall be of opposite sex where both the Chairperson and the Secretary are of the same sex). The leadership of the Youth League and other Party organisations may participate in the National Congress.

The functions and powers of the National Congress are as follows:

1. To hear and examine the reports of the Central Committee.

2. To discuss and decide on major questions concerning the Party.

3. To revise the Constitution of the Party.

4. Propose policies and policy documents to the Central Committee and amend existing policy documents.

5. To elect the Central Committee. The Chairperson, the Secretary General, the Deputy Chairperson, the National Organizing Secretary, and the National Treasurer shall be elected directly into their positions. The rest shall be elected as members of the Central Committee.

6. To decide on criteria and procedure for mergers and coalitions with other parties.

7. May propose the dissolution of the Party to the Central Committee. This proposal shall require a vote of at least 75% of the National Congress.

The National Congress shall meet at least once every five years.

7.4 Central Committee (CC)

Members of the Central Committee shall be elected by the National Congress. A member eligible for nomination into the CC must be a fully paid up member, and must have been a member of the party for at least six months.

The Central Committee will have a membership not more than 21 persons, which will include the National Chairperson, the Deputy Chairperson, the Secretary-General, the National Organising Secretary and the National Treasurer.

The functions and powers of the Central Committee are as follows:

1. Carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Congress.

2. Supervise and direct the work of the Party and all its organs.

3. Issue and send directives, advice and instructions to, and receive reports from County Committees and Cells.

4. Ensure that the County and Cell structures function democratically and effectively. The Central Committee may

suspend or dissolve a county committee or a cell where necessary. A suspension of a county committee or a cell shall not exceed a period of three months. Elections of a county committee which has been dissolved shall be called within six months from dissolution. The Central Committee may appoint an interim structure during the period of suspension or dissolution of the County Committee to fulfil the functions of the County Committee.

5. Establish national departments, and setup committees as it considers appropriate.

6. Within two months after being elected into office, it shall assign specific roles to its members who shall include the Secretary for Ideology, Publicity Secretary, and other designations that may be necessary, up to a maximum of thirteen persons, including the Chairperson and the Secretary General. These members shall form the Political Bureau.

7. Produce and issue policy documents and statements as and when it deems it necessary.

8. Receive reports, supervise the work of, and delegate such functions to the County Committees, as it considers necessary.

9. Prepare nomination rules and procedures and nominate candidates for elections/appointment to the County Assembly Representatives, Members of Parliament, Governors and Senators, different representative positions at the county and other levels, and the Presidency. The nomination papers/ appointment letter shall be signed on behalf of the Party by the Secretary General and the Chairperson.

10. Confer such honours, as it may deem appropriate.

11. Manage and control the National and other assets of the Party.

12. Within one month after a proposal for dissolution, the Central Committee must discuss and make a decision on the matter. In case of dissolution, the Central Committee will also decide on the disposal of the Party property.

The Central Committee shall have the power to co-opt not more than six additional-alternate members at any time during its term of office, provided that such co-option enjoys the support of the County Committee of the region where such a person is a member.

Should a vacancy occur on the Central Committee for any reason, the Central Committee shall have the power to fill the vacancy for the remainder of the period of office until the National Congress meets, and to consult the County Committees before any such vacancies are filled.

The Central Committee shall meet at least once every two months.

7.5: Political Bureau

The Political Bureau shall be formed as stated in 7.4 (6), and shall be chaired by the Secretary for Ideology.

The functions of the Political Bureau are:

1. To review party documents.
2. To approve policy documents of the party.
3. To give ideological directions of the party.
4. To run the party's ideology school.
5. Any other role that may be given to it by the Central Committee.

Article 8: Duties and Functions of National Officials

8.1 National Chairperson

The National Chairperson shall:

1. Present to the National Congress a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation and the political situation generally.

2. Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the Party outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the Party on any question.

3. Ensure order in the Party in accordance with the Constitution of the Party and shall in all respect establish unity in the Party. She/he shall ensure adherence to Party Policy by official members and the Party's elected groups.

4. Preside over meetings of the National Congress and Central Committee.

5. Co-sign with the Secretary General all reports, including minutes, annual reports, financial reports and other party reports.

6. Under the overall supervision of the respective committee, orient the activities of the organs and committees of the Party.

8.2 Deputy Chairperson

1. The Deputy Chairperson shall assist the Chairperson, deputise him/her when necessary and carry out whatever functions entrusted to him/her by the Party, and the Central Committee.

2. Shall be in charge of discipline in the organisation.

8.3 Secretary General

The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer of the Party. He/ she shall:

1. Be in charge of National Secretariat of the Party.

2. Keep the minutes of the Party and the respective committee.

3. Be the custodian of all records of the Party.

4. Conduct the correspondence of the CC, and shall send out notices of all congresses, conferences and meetings at the respective level.

5. Convey the decisions and instructions of higher bodies and shall also convey decisions of the organisation to higher bodies.

6. Prepare reports on the work of the CC and such other documents which from time to time may be required by the CC;

7. Co-sign with the Chairperson all reports including minutes, annual reports, financial reports and other party reports.

8. In the absence of the Chairperson or Deputy Chairperson the Secretary General shall assume the functions of the Chairperson.

9. Ensure that all departments, save those falling directly under the Chairperson, report on their activities to him/her.

10. Secretary General shall be the full time functionary of the Party.

8.4 National Organizing Secretary

The National Organizing Secretary shall:

1. Be responsible for supervision in the Party.

2. Be in charge of the recruitment of members to the party and the establishment of branches of the Party.

3. Be responsible in the organization of Party events.

4. In consultation with the Central Committee, be responsible for Presidential, Governor, Senatorial, Parliamentary and County assembly elections.

5. Any other role that may be accorded to him/her by the Central Committee.

8.5 National Treasurer

The Treasurer is the chief custodian of the funds, property and assets of the Party. He/she shall:

1. Receive and bank all monies on behalf of the Party.

2. Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial position of the Party.

3. Together with the Chairperson and the Secretary General, be signatories to the Party bank account and accounts in general.

4. Be responsible, with the Central Committee and any other committee established, for working out and executing strategies for fundraising.

5. Coordinate with auditors and submit duly audited statements of accounts to the CC, the County Committees and/or to any other relevant body.

6. Ensure that funds from the State are utilized in line with the Political Parties Act, and any other funds acquired are used in line with the laws of Kenya.

Article 9: Recall

Any officer at any level of authority may be suspended from her or his duties at any time by a majority vote of the body that elected that person in line with this Constitution.

Article 10: Elections and Voting

1. Elections shall be held after every two and a half years for cells and county committees, and once every five years for the Central Committee at the National Congress. There are no term limits for service in the party.

2. Nominations of persons for elections shall be done to the outgoing office fourteen days before the elections are held. Nominations from the floor of the congress shall be done if supported by at least one third of members present.

3. Elections and any voting stipulated in this Constitution shall be by secret ballot.

4. Cell elections shall be overseen by officials from another cell. Central Committee elections shall be overseen by members proposed by the National Congress.

5. Only fully paid up members are eligible for nominations.

Article 11: Quorum and Meetings

1. The quorum for the National Congress shall be two-thirds of its representation.

2. The quorum for the Political Bureau shall be two-thirds of its membership.

3. The quorum for the Central Committee meetings and the County Committee meetings shall be one half of their respective membership.

4. The quorum for cell meetings shall be one third of their membership.

5. If after one hour of the time fixed for the meeting, a quorum is not present, the meeting must stand adjourned, and another one will automatically be held fourteen days later, at the same venue and the same timings as the adjourned meeting, and those present at that meeting, irrespective of their number will form a quorum.

6. In the case of an automatic adjournment, the Secretary General shall send a written notice to the members within three days after the adjournment.

7. The agenda of any meeting should be known to all members at least three days before the meeting. Members shall strictly stick to the Agenda of the meeting.

Article 12: Membership Dues

Upon acceptance into the cell, new members shall pay their membership fee. All members shall pay monthly dues and other monies that may be decided upon by the Cell/Party. Fifty percent of the membership fees may, with approval of the National Treasurer, remain at the cell.

Members in arrears of their dues will be notified by their cell treasurer. Cadres more than 6 months in arrears shall be stricken from membership, and can reapply for membership.

Article 13: Reports

Reports will be furnished to the organisation and to the higher levels of organisation after every three months.

Membership records, financial and audit records shall be available to members and other relevant bodies upon a fourteen-day notice, and annual reports of the same shall be compiled and availed by the respective officers.

Article 14: Induction for Cadres

A new member, on being initiated into a cell will read, accept and sign the Party Code of Conduct. The Code of Conduct shall appear alongside the application form to join the Party.

Article 15: Awards

There shall be awards by the Party, given by the Central Committee to the most active members of the Party, and also to other Socialists of the world who have achieved great heights in the spreading and protection of Socialism.

Article 16: Relationship with the Young Communist League

Young Communist League is an autonomous organisation, being formed by the Constitution of the Communist Party of Kenya, where it forms an integral part as a mobilising, training, and recruitment machinery for the Party.

The National Chairperson and the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League shall also serve as Central Committee members of the Communist Party of Kenya.

All members of the Young Communist League shall first become members of the Party.

Article 17: Emblem, motto and Colours

The emblem of the Party shall be a Hammer crossed with a Sickle, with the initials 'CPK' below it. The hammer and the sickle shall be Gold in colour, with a red background.

The flag of the Party shall be Red, with the party emblem (in gold colour) placed at the centre.

The motto is "Capitalism has failed, Jawabu Ni Usoshialisti"

The colours of the Party are Red, Black and Gold.

Article 18: Other Information

1. Changes to Party Particulars shall be communicated in writing to the Registrar of Political Parties or other relevant bodies by the Secretary General and the Chairperson.

2. The Party offices are situated at Daphton Court, C10, Riverside Drive, Nairobi.

3. The address of the Party is 4403-00100 Nairobi, Kenya.

4. Every organisational level can employ workers to deal with the administrative work under respective officials of the Party. The terms of employment shall be decided upon by the organisational level.

5. National Assembly, Senate and County caucus bodies may be formed, and shall function under the direction of County Committees, the Central Committee and the Political Bureau.

6. Membership details in the register shall include identification details, sex, region and county of the member.

7. All organs of the party shall come up with ways of implementing national values and principles of governance as provided in the Constitution.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA GETS ANOTHER VICTORY IN KENYAN COURTS!

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK
15 April 2019

From left, Kevin Oriri (Young Communist Youth League), Benedict Wachira (General Secretary CPK), Booker Ngesa Omole (Deputy Chairperson and National Organizing Secretary CPK), Gacheke Gachiki (Secretary Mass work CPK), addressing the members of press at the office of Registrar of Political Parties in Nairobi, they were accompanied by Nairobi branch leaders.

The final judgement delivered at the Nairobi Law Courts has confirmed that CPK is indeed Gazetted according to the laws of the land.

The childish and flagrant application by the state sponsored busy bodies that sought to have the CPK leadership jailed for supporting communism and that opposed the change of Party name has been dismissed today.

Not only the Kenyan workers, peasants and their class allies but also the global communist movement has emerged victorious.

Now that the matter has been marked as settled, the Party shall intensify its mass and cadre recruitment exercises across the country.

CPK was ably represented by the Second Liberation Hero, Senior Advocate Cde Hon. Gitobu Imanyara.

WHY WE CHANGED OUR NAME FROM THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA (SDP) TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA (CPK)

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK

Speech on the Third National Congress of the SDP transformed into CPK

5 December 2019

Revolutionary greetings to all delegates gathered here!
Happy New Year!

Today we have made the historical decision of changing the name of our party from Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) to Communist Party of Kenya (CPK). This is a significant decision with great implications not only to our party but also to Kenya and the East African Community. No communist party has ever been registered in Kenya and the East African Community apart from South Sudan.

Yet, many more important reasons made us decide to abandon the name SDP and opt for the name CPK. These include the following;

We are registered as a communist party except that for historical reasons based on the origin of the party we retained the name Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP). The documents of SDP: the manifesto, constitution, charter, code of conduct, msimamo wa SDP, and the official statements put on the website of SDP all show that we are committed to socialism and communism and are far away from social democratic reactionary ideas and politics. In fact, in our international associations, comrades from all over the world that we often interacted with have always wondered about the contradictions of the name of our party and clear ideological commitment to socialism. So

today we end this contradiction by calling our party its true name that explains our actual ideology, vision, and commitment: Communist Party of Kenya (CPK).

We are ready to enter the battle of ideas in Kenya and the world as CPK. Let the capitalists, imperialists, opportunists, and oppressors of all sorts who day and night seeking to maintain the reactionary order of exploitation of person-by-person tremble: CPK has been born today and is here to stay!

The name social democracy is used by reformers and opportunists to confuse the working class and the oppressed people, distort and water down their struggle for true liberation and freedom. Social democratic parties in the world have long abandoned communism and are part and parcel of neoliberalism, neocolonialism, and imperialism. In this way, they differ only in form but not in content to bourgeois political parties that advocate capitalism overtly all the time. Social democratic parties fight against communism that struggles to organize the working class and oppressed classes to destroy the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression of person by person. The Social democrats are for class conciliation while communists are for class struggle. Communists are committed to the struggle of overthrowing the capitalist system, annihilating it, and replacing it with the socialist system and ultimately communist system of true liberation, freedom, equality, justice, and peace on earth.

By abandoning our past name SDP we are distinguishing our party from the many registered political parties in Kenya—including the ruling coalitions of JUBILEE and CORD led by hypocrites in power that, despite their commitment to maintaining the capitalist and imperialist system, still refer to themselves as social democratic parties. Knowing that capitalism is an evil and reactionary ideology and system they choose not to

identify with it openly but instead choose to hide behind social democracy while adhering to capitalism. We will not accept to be namesakes with reactionaries and their anti-people policies!

We are the Communist Party of Kenya because we want to destroy the neocolonial capitalist system that makes a few families and individuals control the largest portion of the land and wealth of our country while the majority languish in poverty and underdevelopment. From now onwards by name, by politics, by ideology, by actions, and by our name CPK we shall distinguish ourselves and our struggles from the parties of reaction and reforms. Let our friends and foes in Kenya and the world understand us as such: CPK. Let those who are scared of communism tremble wherever they are! In the meantime, CPK calls upon workers, peasants and all the oppressed people of Kenya and the world to unite against capitalism and imperialism as they have nothing to lose but their chains.

Today, we have changed our name to CPK to declare that we are ready to face the great challenge of struggling and working towards becoming communists and a communist party. For we must beware that we do not become communists and a communist party merely by declaring that we are today registered as CPK in this National Congress. Declaring ourselves CPK means coming out of this Conference committed to the task of working to make us, individuals and party, communists. This is not an easy task but we have committed ourselves to it today, but also starting from yesterday. In the course of building the new party, which is unique in our country and region, a lot will be demanded from the leadership of CPK and its members. We must fulfill definite tasks to start being communists and CPK.

What then are some of the tasks of making ourselves and the party communist? It means among other things: (a) studying as

an individual and in groups the ideological documents of CPK; (b) studying the communist ideology as an individual and in groups and applying it to our struggles in Kenya and in the world today; (c) being committed to CPK in theory and practice including paying membership dues regularly, material support to the party where possible and making sacrifices for the party when required; (d) recruiting new members to the party; (e) belonging to party study circles, cells, branches and organizations and establishing party cells, branches and organizations; (f) attending party meetings without fail on time; (g) carrying out party tasks faithfully, diligently and promptly; (h) being active in mass organizations in work places, villages and wherever people gather and educating them about the party and socialism through personal examples; (i) always identifying with the oppressed and just and progressive struggles in Kenya, Africa and the world; (j) making individual initiatives of building the party and disseminating communist ideas; (k) fighting against superstitious ideas and trying to understand the universe, life and nature; (m) remembering that a human being is an independent, conscious, creative social being; (n) identifying progressive struggles in the world and providing them with material and moral support.

Communists build the communist party and the communist party builds communists. Therefore, all members of CPK must be leaders in their units, cells branches, and all party organs. Those members who grow in leadership in the lower organs of the party will be identified and promoted to higher organs. Those in higher organs who fail or refuse to grow will be demoted to lower organs.

Key decisions of the party will be made through the method of democratic centralism. This means that higher organs will identify or gather issues and convey them to the lower organs for

debate or discussion. After thorough discussions or debates, the lower organs will forward their views to the higher organs. After receiving and considering the views from the lower organs, the highest organ of the party will make its decision and forward it to the lower organs not for debate or discussion but implementation. This will be the party democracy of CPK.

Long live CPK!
Long live socialism and communism!

FROM THE POLITICS OF TRIBALISM, BETRAYAL, AND OPPORTUNISM, TO AN OPTIMISTIC FUTURE: MY EXPERIENCES AS A PARTY ORGANISER

Odhiambo Ojwang, Rural Organizer - CPK

7 April 2020

Kenyan workers and peasants live in abject poverty while the elites indulge in lives of plenty and opulence, displaying wealth with wasteful flamboyant capitalist consumerism. Even with the achievements brought by multiparty democracy, Kenya remains a pro-capitalist dictatorship, with a few rich people dominating the political and economic life of the country while the majority wallow in poverty. Access to the major means of production remains under the control of the few capitalist individuals and families and their foreign collaborators.

Things are worse in the rural area where I focus most of my political activities. I often interact with peasants, the rural poor, who have never heard of socialism or communism but are very much alive to the fact that the political system in Kenya is rotten with injustice and reaction.

When I engage in discussions with them about the ABCs of communism, their curiosity and interests are aroused by the very idea that communism could be the ultimate solution to the hopeless political system imposed upon them by the ruling class. All this also allows them to look at the world with more optimistic eyes and arouses their interest to join the struggle for progressive change.

The Kenyan masses do not fear communism; for how do you fear that which promises you a better life? It is the members of the capitalist and the middle classes that fear and hate communism and continue to spread senseless and toxic anti-

communist propaganda aimed at hoodwinking the masses to maintain the present unjust status quo. Members of the middle class oppose communism even when they do not know what socialism and communism mean. The capitalists on the other hand consciously hate socialism for they know that it will take away all that does not belong to them. The hate is mutual; we also hate capitalism as it is the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person.

CPK is against capitalism because it is reactionary and hinders social progress and human freedom. Capitalism is the basic cause of tribalism, inequality, sexism, crime, and class division.

CPK is committed to the struggle for socialism in Kenya and the world, as it is the system of true liberation and freedom of the exploited and oppressed and society as a whole. Just as our ancestors who resisted colonialism and fought for the national liberation of Kenya while making numerous and great sacrifices in the process, CPK will never relent in the struggle against capitalism and for socialism. Members of CPK have no alternative but to engage in the task that history has placed upon them as patriots and human beings. All conscious exploited and oppressed Kenyans too have no alternative but to unite and join this struggle if they are to live better than they are living today.

In 2013 when I started my political work in Nyanza, I found people that were full of hopelessness. The political violence was raw; people lived in fear of questioning the status quo dominated by populism, opportunism, sycophancy, tribalism, and personality cult. The musicians could not even use their artistic license to awaken their people. The local radios used to the only parrot about tribal leaders and singing praises to the status quo.

Journalism and art had been compromised and reduced only to serve the reactionary tribal politicians.

However, today, thanks to the political engagements that my comrades and I regularly hold with the masses, and similar work done by members of CPK study groups and cells in the region, I see renewed hope. Today I see the people, particularly young people, rejecting the reactionary politics of the local and national politicians and confronting the current status quo in a conscious engagement and struggle.

The rural poor, living in makeshift houses, with no running water, with no electricity, with no good schools for their children, and with hardly any health facilities, at least now know that their pain is caused by bad politics and governance. Increasingly, they are becoming aware that the capitalist political elites even from their ethnic group have betrayed them and will never save them. They are more and more aware of where to direct their anger. They have begun to realise that declarations of Nyanza as an individual's stronghold cannot and will not change their practical realities and that without rejecting the reactionary politics imposed upon them they will continue to sink deeper and deeper into poverty and underdevelopment.

The Kenyan masses are increasingly finding out that the so-called multiparty elections dominated by drama, corruption, tribalism, media propaganda, violence, and rigging are a gimmick and cannot be depended upon to liberate the poor, exploited, and oppressed. The regular elections are used by the ruling class of Kenya to perpetuate their capitalist system in power. The masses are increasingly understanding all this. They are also realising that the manifestos of the political parties of the ruling class are populist lies and propaganda calculated to convince the masses to vote for their exploiters and oppressors.

Many times the Kenyan print and electronic media are compromised to popularise the politics of the exploiters and oppressors.

Now the ruling elites are imposing amendments on the constitution to serve their interests through the politics of Handshake and the so-called Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) initiated by two individuals who act as if Kenya belongs to the two of them, their families, friends, and collaborators. It is becoming more and more clear that the most reactionary members of the ruling class will use all means possible to try and roll back the progressive gains achieved by Kenyans hitherto through hard struggle. Only the conscious and united struggle of Kenyans throughout the country will consolidate and build upon the progressive gains in our Constitution.

Every time my political work takes me to the poor neighbourhoods, I listen to our people's dreams; they are full of disappointments but also hope; they want to change their lives and that of their neighbours. They probably do not know how, but by the time we get to talk about our cause, they own it fully, and they find meaning that a radical change in the form of a revolution is what is required. It is their only hope. For according to the capitalist class, the poor should not have any power or any say in the country's affairs.

The Communist Party of Kenya leads the masses to be aware that even though we say that Kenya is thirsty for socialism, socialism cannot be achieved by simply good wishes, dreams, or by only imagining a better world. Such desires are called utopian socialism. Socialism will be brought about by a conscious revolutionary organisation and struggle. It is scientific socialism, the doctrine of class struggle, which is our compass that points the direction to our victory. Marxist Socialism! Scientific

socialism! The Communist Party of Kenya's study circles are busy tempering and cultivating a solid revolutionary social force to advance the class struggle in Kenya under scientific socialism. We invite all Kenyans that desire a better life to join our study circles and struggle to advance our revolution.

Long live the Struggle for Socialism!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA AND MANIFESTATIONS OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN KENYA: MY EXPERIENCES AS A REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISER AND MOBILISER

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK

7 September 2020

Kenyans are severing their relationships with those things that do not reflect reality to them. Capitalism in Kenya is exposing itself every day to the people of Kenya. Every little thing that comes with a good life is escaping the majority of the Kenyan people. Kenyan workers and peasants live in abject poverty while a small minority are burning money in high-end shopping malls, importing top of the range cars and living in pure opulence. The few privileged class cannot hide their lies anymore. Even with the civic and political liberties, Kenya is a dictatorship, with a few wealthy people dominating all spheres of life. Capital is the dominating factor, with money, everything is for sale! Even people!

The atrocities committed by the Kenya government are revealing themselves in people's daily life. No amount of capitalist propaganda can hide the suffering of the majority of Kenyans. In rural Kenya, where I do most of my political organizing, the story is no different. Every day I meet peasants, the rural poor; many have not heard of communism or socialism, but they are alive to the fact that the political system in Kenya is rotten. The majority of them look older than their actual age. As we get deeper into the conversation of what communism is about and the Communist Party of Kenya program, then you can tell that they have a renewed interest, they get happy just by the ideas alone. At that moment, they start to open up their lives, their

troubles, their frustrations, and they showcase the will to take part in a process that will radically change this country.

The Kenyan masses do not fear communism; the capitalists hate communism, and a few conditioned middle-class Kenyans, the wannabes! For the conditioned Kenyan masses, they have consumed toxic bourgeois propaganda too much. Some of them are still suffering from anti-communism hangover and feel like it is fashionable to hate a thing by just shouting at it and not having knowledge about it. To the Kenyan capitalist class, the hate is mutual. And yes, we are organizing Kenyans for their eventual overthrow. It is only a matter of time before they are called upon to answer for the crimes they have committed against the Kenyan people. They will be tried and jailed. The dead ones will be tried posthumously, and their wealth, all stolen from the Kenyan poor, will be confiscated and brought under the democratic control of the Kenyan people. In that way, we fully understand their hate because the Communist Party of Kenya is a direct threat to their positions of privilege.

For us, it is a struggle; a struggle of competing interest, a bitter rivalry between the old order who want to maintain the status quo of capitalism and the new order, who would want to bring dignity and humanity to the Kenyan people under socialism. It is the task that history has placed on the shoulders of the Communist Party of Kenya. Just like the proud militants of the *Mau Mau* who martyred defending our motherland, and the Kenyan poor that have and continue to sacrifice themselves in the street guarding this civic space, the Communist Party of Kenya is standing tall with all the oppressed Kenyans.

In 2013 when I started my political work in Nyanza, it was full of hopelessness. The political violence was raw; people lived in fear of questioning the status quo. The artists and the musicians

could not even divert to use their artistic license to awaken their people. The radio airwaves were only parroting about tribal leaders and singing praises to the status quo. Journalism and art had lost meaning. Today I look back and see a renewed hope. The backward politics of personality cult has only intensified their suffering. Now I see the young people confronting the current status quo in a very combative way.

Those forsaken people, living in makeshift houses, with no running water, with no electricity, now know that their pain is political. They now know that the capitalist political elite has betrayed them; they know where to direct their anger. They know that those empty declarations that such a place is the stronghold of an individual cannot and will not change their practical realities; that they will continue to sink into poverty if they do not take their future in their own hands.

The Kenyan capitalists are getting desperate day in, day out; they cannot see their future; their positions of privilege are under threat; they are going through a phase. What options are left for them? Now they mobilize the corporate media; they organize big rallies all in the name of building an image of popularity. They use a lot of money, most of it is stolen from the working poor. They do not care much about the vote; all they want to do it is to build a false perception of them winning an election. After that, they all compete on rigging themselves in and stealing votes. What follows is some blame games, government agencies, and private militias slaughter a few poor people. Then a political deal is cut with criminals whose hands are full of blood. The local and international media, both capitalist agents, are lined up to cover the peace deal. The script continues, the rich get richer, the poor get poorer!

Capitalist democracy is a big joke! The elections are a sham and rigged before the votes are cast. The campaigns are dramatized, a show of opulence a mid-nothingness, bought journalists with cameras on their shoulders running around like a headless chicken to cover empty rallies. Those campaign rallies where politicians compete with clowns and entertainers. They start with nothing and finish with nothing. They parade flamboyant women, they show off their healthy wives and girlfriends, and try to crack vulgar jokes to tease the poor. It is a mockery of people's intellect.

You can hear from those powerful speakers, *tuko pamoja*, to mean we are together, how is that even possible? A poor jobless and hungry youth cannot be together with a rich thief! They are only together for the interest of thieves who rob the Kenyan people daily. The following day another group of people will be leading another chant, *Maisha bora*, to mean good life. To go home from such a rally only to defecate in a polythene bag, to live in the worst sanitary conditions! that cannot be a good life. In reality, there is no good life, just sickening poverty. That's how perverted those politics are. It's unimaginable how they leave those political rallies alive, how people do not burn them alive. There is no good life when you are burying a dead loved one knowing that the politician has stolen the monies for healthcare.

The capitalist political parties thrive on lies, if they cannot lie enough for themselves, they hire professional liars, those people gifted in rhetoric and funny body movement. They hire those clowns to come and lie to people, to build false hope among the people. When the election results are announced, the big losers usually are the poor Kenyans. Other than the daily life difficulties, they have to face inflation because politicians have printed excess paper money to help them win elections. Such a

system where the money is the determinant is far from being democratic.

The Kenyan capitalist political parties are embarrassed about their identity; they call themselves all sorts of things—mainly social democrats. They pay a few bourgeois intellectuals to publish some populist literature in the name of manifestos. They print such emptiness in glossy papers to look appealing and hire a five-star hotel to unveil it all, before live TV broadcast. In those papers that lack any intellectual depth, you find things like free primary schools, jobs for all, and tonnes of literature on development written in some difficult NGO language. To them, it means nothing; they just need something that can help them to hoodwink voters—an exercise of fraud.

All those empty talks have only been counter-productive, now the Kenyan people can see that the current capitalist class has nothing left to offer; they have entirely run out of ideas. Immediately after an election, they start to expose themselves, and their lies come to the surface. When Kenyans pour in the street to demand anything from jobs or even to demand an end to corruption, they are met with the brute force of the police, mass arrests, and the media is set against them. They see the election as a way to give them legitimacy to loot.

In the national TV stations, radio talk shows, it is all littered by imperialist stooges. They come in variety, from a political scientist, yellow journalists, pink economists, etc. They pretend to be professionals, but you don't need to have a brain to know that they are stooges of the current political elite. Some of them are under the trappings of capitalism—they are busy philosophizing on how to make Kenya better—writing piles of papers on morals; they are lost in empty bourgeois idealism. They cannot see meaning in organizing the Kenyan people against the

corrupt misrule in Kenya. In the capitalist lecture halls, it's like no one knows anything apart from the Western clichés.

In under a year in the office, their popularity is on an all-time low. Very quickly, they try to rebuild themselves through dishing bribes to tribal demagogues, using places of worship to try and pretend they are in solidarity with the Kenyan poor. They manufacture fake processes like that infamous Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) to try to redeem themselves and loot more. But very shortly, the Kenyan masses start to see reality and begin to attack the church as an appendage to the corrupt political class. They even try to crown it with a national prayer breakfast, but however much they pray the unemployment is ever rising, starvation and death persist.

When the pressure from below is too high, they resort to their partners abroad, the imperialist countries. They get some loans and aid to delay their ultimate overthrow. To try some failed experiments, to ameliorate the people's lives through loans, but all these only continue to expose their corrupt dealings. The truth is that they can delay their inevitable overthrow; but with the Kenyan masses determined to live a life with dignity, it's the dire conditions like unemployment, hunger, and death that will overthrow the current regime.

Kenya is like a service station to all the rogue states in the world; in East Africa, this is the center operation of the CIA, Mossad, MI5/SIS, even the murderous Kagame of Rwanda has a license to kill Hutu political refugees in Nairobi. The political class in Kenya is too weak to oppress the Kenyan people sufficiently; they have formed alliances of oppression with our former colonizers. They prostitute our country's resources to them. In return, they get some sort of assurance that in case they get too much pressure from below, they may get help from

Britain and the like. No wonder the British army has one of the most significant military bases in Kenya to help protect the national bourgeoisie.

The sham independence of 1963 made Kenya a neo-colonial capitalist state. The current leaders of Jubilee, ODM, and the likes are collaborators. They are pretending to be leaders; they are fake leaders, only representing their bosses in the metropole countries. Every time elections near, they have these long foreign trips to ask for alms and to sell their souls to the world's global capitalist system.

The current attack on progressive political parties is a show that the current leadership wants to suppress the truth. They want to take the people away from reality. They want to make progressive voices irrelevant. They want the Kenyan masses who are robbed everyday ignorant of their robbery. They should never know that they are being bled. That's why the Communist Party of Kenya's statements hardly makes it to the mainstream media.

The Kenyan people know they are suffering. They are tired of the current capitalist arrangement in Kenya. But the system wants them to take personal responsibility for their suffering. They want the poor to pity themselves and blame themselves for their poverty. Sometimes the propaganda is so extreme that the poor start to blame themselves or each other. They start to think that they are poor because they are lazy, or because they are irresponsible or say that it's their fault that they have many children. But when we start to have conversations with them, and they start to understand the root of the Kenyan problems, the hopelessness is changed to energy to drive change in their communities.

Every time my work takes me to the poor neighborhoods, I listen to our people's dreams; they are full of hope; they want to

change their lives and their neighbors. They probably don't know how, but by the time we get to talk about our course, they own it fully, and they find meaning in that a radical change in the form of a revolution is what is required. It's their only hope. For the capitalist class, the poor shouldn't have any power or any say in the country's affairs. They want the poor to blame themselves and believe that their problems are of their own making.

The contradictions of the turbo capitalist system in Kenya have provided a fertile ground for the Communist Party of Kenya to recruit her hardcore members. Police repression, poverty, joblessness, police killings, and on one side—a class of wealthy multi-billionaires showing off their ill-gotten wealth. The Kenyan masses want political change; they want an alternative apart from capitalism; they want socialism. The capitalist system has created life after its image. The majority of Kenyans feel violated and hopeless. They feel abused, unprotected, and exploited.

In conclusion, even though we say the Kenyan masses are thirsty for socialism, socialism cannot be achieved by just good wishes, dreaming, or imagining a better world. Such desires are in the category of utopian socialism, until the Kenyan masses start to move, nothing will change. For us, it's the doctrine of class struggle that is our compass pointing to our victory. It's the only way to uproot the current capitalist dictatorship. Marxist Socialism! Scientific socialism! That which is devoid of idealism and purely materialist! The Communist Party of Kenya Study Circles are busy tempering and cultivating a solid revolutionary social force to advance the class struggle in Kenya under scientific socialism. We invite all Kenyans that desire a better life, to join our study circles and advance our revolution.

Long live the Struggle for Socialism!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA MUSIC PROJECT

Tony Mboyo "Kasmall", Secretary of Arts and Culture - CPK
7 September 2020

"One good thing about music, when it hits you feel no pain"
– Bob Marley

The Communist Party of Kenya has embarked on a project to document party songs as well local and international songs of struggle. This is a first of its kind project to be attempted on such a scale, and the party aims to educate the Kenyan masses on the past and current political and socialist struggles through use of song. The music collection is also expected advance the efforts of the Kenyan progressives and revolutionaries as they continue with the struggle against exploitation, oppression, neo-colonialism, and imperialism in Kenya. Historically, music has been used across nations and cultures around the world to fuel positive change, popular uprisings and revolutions, and also to motivate fighters and revolutionaries in their struggles.

It is said that "Music is found in every known culture and religion, past and present, varying widely between times and places. Since all people of the world, including the most isolated tribal groups, have a form of music, it may be concluded that music is likely to have been present in the ancestral population before the dispersal of humans around the world.[1]"

In that regard, CPK recognizes the power of music in penetrating the human soul and as a part of human life itself. In Africa for example; musicians like Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, and Lucky Dube and many others used the music to

[1] Wallin, Nils Lennart; Steven Brown; Björn Merker (2001). The Origins of Music. Cambridge: MIT Press. ISBN 978-0-262-73143-0)

speak and fight against the apartheid regime. Here in Kenya, the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau) created dozens of resistance songs which were used to arouse the masses and mobilise them against the British colonialists. Music has been part and parcel of all the national struggles in Kenya since we gained independence from direct colonial rule.[2]

Initial Phase

The CPK music project's initial phase will involve collecting and recording already existing songs. One such song is *Wimbo wa Mapambano* (Anthem of the Struggle), which is largely sung in progressive and activist spaces including demonstrations, community forums and other grassroots activities. The song, which was written by earlier activists and made popular by the Release Political Prisoners organization and the 5 Centuries Human Rights Theatre group, adopts the tune of *NkosiSikelel' iAfrika,* a song adopted by the African National Congress in South Africa in 1925. Other songs include a Kenyan version of the *Toyi Toyi* chant, characterised by rhythmic stepping movements and mostly performed during protests. This particular version is intended to create awareness on injustices such as corruption and tribalism, and to mobilise the masses to wage a war against these and other societal ills. Other songs include; *Viva Afrika*, which is a Pan-Africanist song made popular by the Rastafari Movement and the Communist Party of Kenya; *Kalimambo*, popularised by the late Comrade President Samora Machel of Mozambique; *Kazi Ngumu Tunayoifanya*, a song inspired by music from the training camps of National Resistance Movement of Uganda, *Tutasonga Kwa Mapinduzi,*

[2] it is critical to note that music has also been used by successive independent regimes, especially during the KANU era to promote dictatorship and other reactionary ideas amongst the masses.

also from NRA training camps, and *Sisi Watu WaAfrika,* which was at one time adopted as an anthem of the Pan-Africanism Movement in East Africa.

Celebrating the Role of Women

In celebrating the role of women in various struggles for liberation, the party identified two songs that would form part of the initial phase. One of them is a re-do of a South African song called *Slovo na Tambo* originally done by Amaqabane. In this song, the party celebrates the contributions of three great Kenyan women leaders in the liberation history of Kenya, each signifying a different era in our anti-colonial struggles. These women are Mekatili wa Menza, who led Kenyans against the theft of their land and forced labour by the colonialists, Muthoni Nyanjiru, who led men and women to protest against theft of African land, imposition of the Kipande system, and the imprisonment of Kenyan civil rights leaders, and Muthoni Kirima, who was one of the highest-ranking guerrilla officers in the Maumau army. The CPK version is titled *Mekatilili na Muthoni*. The contributions of these and many other Kenyan women in the various struggles in Kenya is often downplayed and hidden in the archives, but through songs such as this and others to come, their memories and inspiration shall be re-ignited.

The second song that celebrates the role of women in the struggle is titled '*women of the working class*' originally from the 1984 miners' strike in the UK and recorded by Mal Finch. CPK will give the song a Kenyan context.

Another significant achievement of this project has been the translation and recording of *Bella Ciao* in Kiswahili. Among the younger generations in Kenya, the song is synonymous with the Spanish series *Money Heist*. Unbeknownst to them, *Bella Ciao* is a popular protest and anti-fascist anthem that has united freedom

fighters for decades now. The song originated from Italy, where women working in the paddy fields sang to protest the inhuman working conditions that they were subjected to. The song gained prominence during the Italian resistance to the occupying German Nazi forces, and has since then been sang by partisans fighting foreign occupation and domination, as well internal oppression and exploitation.

The Internationale in Kiswahili

Perhaps one of the greatest contributions to humanity will be the recording of the *Internationale* in Kiswahili for the first time in history. The *Internationale* has been translated and sang in all international languages except for Kiswahili. Translated by the Chairperson of the Communist Party of Kenya, Comrade Mwandawiro Mghanga who also happens to be a poet and a Kiswahili enthusiast, the song will bring the international revolutionary fire closer home. Also, a recording of the proper English version of the anthem will be done, since most of the versions found online are of the "reformed" type.

The initial collection will contain eleven songs in English and Kiswahili. The second collection will continue to document already existing songs of struggle, but will also have new creations, and will include songs done in different local languages and styles. These songs will be educational, ideologically grounded and artistically unbounded.

The CPK music project is a long-term project, which is expected to deepen the revolutionary spirit in Kenya. The project seeks to popularise the manifesto and the revolutionary ideas of the Communist Party in Kenya, which is the vanguard of workers and peasants in the country. Indeed, it is the only party in Kenya and the region that wields a true ideology for the emancipation of people of Kenya. Viva CPK!

NOMINATION AND ELECTION RULES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA & CODE OF CONDUCT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

Central Committee - CPK

11 May 2021

A. GENERAL RULE ON NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS

All nominations and elections of the Party shall be guided by the Constitution of the Party; Constitution of Kenya, particularly chapter six; Political Parties Act of 2011; Elections Act of 2011 and other relevant Kenyan laws and rules.

B. INTERNAL PARTY ELECTIONS

1. Elections shall be held after every two and a half years for cells and County Committees, and once every five years for the Central Committee at the National Congress. There are no term limits for service in the Party;

2. Nominations of persons for elections shall be done to the outgoing office fourteen days before the elections are held. Nominations from the floor of the National Congress shall be done if supported by at least one third of members present;

3. Elections and any voting stipulated in this constitution shall be by secret ballot;

4. Cell elections shall be overseen by officials from another cell. Central Committee elections shall be overseen by members proposed by the National Congress;

5. Only fully paid up members are eligible for nominations.

C. NATIONAL ELECTIONS
PROCEDURE FOR NOMINATION OF PARTY CANDIDATES IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

1. Party Members shall, through the specified party organs as provided in the constitution of the Party, have the right to participate in the selection of candidates for all elective public posts;

2. The Central Committee will set Nomination Regulations governing the nomination of Party candidates for each election, such regulations shall give effect to clause (1) above;

3. The Central Committee will receive, appraise and decide on the applications made by members for nomination to contest for elective public offices. In implementing this clause, the Central Committee shall seek the views of relevant branches of the Party;

4. In the event that two or more persons apply to vie for the same elective public position as County Representative, Women Representative, Member of Parliament, Governor or President, the persons shall be selected through nomination elections;

5. The Central Committee shall make rules to effect clause (4) above;

6. Any person aggrieved by any decision relating to the nomination of candidates for any elective body or an appointment made under these Rules may challenge the decision in the manner provided in Part F of these rules.

D. RULES FOR NOMINATIONS OF PARTY CANDIDATES IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

To be eligible to vie for any elective position in the Communist of Kenya, a person must adhere to the following rules:

1. He/she must apply through CPK's grassroots branches to the Central Committee;

2. Where application through the grassroots branches is not possible, a person shall apply directly to the Central Committee;

3. The application in (1) and (2) above must be accompanied by the required non-refundable fees;

4. The Central Committee shall accept or reject the application of (1) above;

5. He/she must be a fully paid up member of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK);

6. He/she must convince the Party organs that he/she has read, understood and accepted the Constitution and Manifesto of the Party;

7. He/she must read, accept and sign the Code of Conduct of the Party;

8. He/she must read, accept and sign the monthly fees commitment form for candidates provided by the Party;

9. He/she must pay all nomination fees required by the Party;

10. He/she must meet the requirements of the Constitution of Kenya, the Political Parties Act of 2011, the Elections Act of 2011 and any legal requirements established by Parliament concerning eligibility to elective positions in the country.

11. The Central Committee may decide to give direct nominations to applicants to stand for national public offices. Such direct nominations will not be subjected to nomination elections.

E. RULES FOR APPOINTMENT TO PARTY NOMINATION LISTS

To be eligible for appointment to CPK Party nomination lists for the County Assemblies, the National Assembly and the Senate, the following guidelines shall be used;

1. He/she must be a fully paid up member of the Communist Party of Kenya

2. The most active and ideologically grounded Party members shall be given first priority;

3. He/she must read, accept and sign the monthly fees commitment form for candidates provided by the Party;

4. He/she must meet the requirements of the Constitution of Kenya and any legal requirements established by Parliament concerning eligibility for nomination in the Party list positions in the country.

5. The decision of the Central Committee shall be final;

6. The Central Committee will set Nomination Rules for the appointment of nominated members to the African Parliament, the East Africa Legislative Assembly and legislative organs of any other regional or international organization.

F. NOMINATIONS, ELECTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS APPEALS TRIBUNAL

1. The Nominations, Elections and Appointments Tribunal shall consist of five members appointed by the Central Committee and shall act under nominations and elections rules of CPK. It shall hear and determine the following disputes:

a) Nomination of candidates to party, civic, parliamentary, county, presidential and all public elections;

b) Nomination or appointment of persons to any body or authority as may be required under the law or any other instrument.

2. The Nominations, Elections and Appointments Appeals Tribunal shall ensure that the Party, its members and officials respect and comply with the Party's constitution, manifesto, code of conduct and nominations and elections rules and also as provided by any law regarding elections in the country including the Constitution of Kenya, Political Parties Act of 2011 and Elections Act of 2011.

3. The Nominations, Elections and Appointments Appeals Tribunal may recommend to the Central Committee any amendments to the rules and regulations necessary for the holding of free and fair elections and in making any appointments.

CODE OF CONDUCT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA (CPK)

1. Members of CPK shall always, in words and deeds, struggle for a humane society based on social justice and equality without any form of exploitation or oppression of person by person.

2. Members of CPK shall at all times, in words and deeds, uphold the spirit internationalism, of comradeship, unity and solidarity among all the working and oppressed people of the world.

3. Members of CPK shall at all times and everywhere bear true allegiance and project a positive image of the party, its policies and ideology. They shall strive to study, understand and propagate the manifesto, constitution and all policies of the party.

4. Members of CPK shall strive at all times to educate themselves, their families and other members about progressive and revolutionary ideas, and socialism.

5. Members of CPK shall work hard at all times to disseminate progressive, revolutionary and socialist ideas in the country and the world.

6. Members of CPK shall everywhere and at all times, in words and deeds, identify with the cause of the liberation of the marginalised, exploited and oppressed people and all just struggles.

7. Members of CPK shall not practise, advocate or tolerate tribalism, racism, sexism, nepotism, cronyism, xenophobia or any form of discrimination against other persons.

8. Members of CPK shall always and tirelessly fight against corruption and all its manifestations; they shall be guardians of justice and custodians of public property and living examples of patriotism and socialist morality.

9. Members of CPK shall not deceive the people with false promises, populism, and cheap propaganda or buy their support with money or things.

10. Members of CPK shall tell the truth to each other, even when it is uncomfortable to do so, i.e., they shall engage in self-criticism and constructive criticism of other members, the party and its leadership.

11. Members of CPK shall not falsely accuse or bear false witness against each other or other persons; they shall be paragons of truth and honesty.

12. Members of CPK shall promote the spirit of mutual respect, tolerance, friendship and comradeship with one another and will not conduct themselves in a manner inimical to the unity and progress of the party.

13. All members of CPK organs shall be bound, whilst members of those organs, to the principles of Democratic Centralism, i.e., internal democracy with collective discipline and responsibility.

14. Members of CPK shall carry out party assignments efficiently, promptly and in a transparent and accountable manner.

15. Members of CPK shall not reveal the secrets of the party to non-members even after they leave the party. They shall not talk to non-members or the press about the internal affairs of the party other than the party's target image, media strategy and issues which it has been agreed can be discussed.

16. Members of CPK shall avoid any conduct at public, social and personal level, which is likely to embarrass or compromise the ideology, image, aims and objectives of the party and its members.

SUMMARY OF THE MINIMUM PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK
7 September 2021

Introduction

The history, ideology, and profile of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK)—which has developed progressively since 1992—are found in the documents of the party registered with the Registrar of Political Parties of Kenya in line with the Constitution of Kenya (2010) and the laws thereof. The documents can be accessed on the party website (communistpartyofkenya.org). Hard copies can be obtained from the Party headquarters in Nairobi.

CPK participated actively in the struggle for the progressive reforms that are summarised in the national Constitution of Kenya 2010. We were involved in the debates of the Constitution-making conference at Bomas of Kenya in Nairobi between 2003 and 2005 and fought for the inclusion of the progressive articles in the Constitution that include Article 10 on the national values and principles of governance that also form the summary of the minimum program of CPK.

The national values and principles of governance include patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people; human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination, and protection of the marginalized; good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and sustainable development.

Despite the existence of the Constitution, the political parties and coalitions of the ruling class of Kenya today that form the Executive, are united in their selfish conspiracy to kill other

political parties in Kenya so that they remain the only political parties and so that together they can dominate and manipulate the politics of the country to fit their common ideology of capitalism/neoliberalism. They grab and share only among themselves the millions of shillings of public money meant to fund political parties to nurture democracy in the country. In all this, they count on the support of imperialist governments and pro-capitalist local and foreign NGOs operating in the country, and that purport to support and teach Kenyans about democracy and human rights.

The political parties, coalitions, and organisations that dominate the country's parliament today all worship bourgeois democracy as it is practiced in the USA, United Kingdom, Western Europe, and Japan. They regard bourgeois democracy to be the Alpha and Omega of democracy. Yet in the United States that pretends to be the most democratic country in the world, left political parties are suppressed, and the citizens are forced to choose to be governed by either the Republican or Democratic parties, both of which are capitalist and imperialist in ideology and practice. Similarly, in the UK, all left political parties are suppressed, and the citizens have to choose from the Labour, Conservative or Liberal Democrats parties—all of which represent capitalism and imperialism. The aim of this is to use the political parties to conserve the democracy of the ruling capitalist classes and to use it to dilute class struggles by creating illusions of political changes through regular elections that ensure the capitalist and imperialist system remains intact. This is the democracy Kenya's ruling class and their partners are importing for Kenya and that CPK rejects and struggles against. It is not the democracy the Kenyan masses wish and aspire for as the spirit of the constitution of Kenya manifestly reveals.

The truth is that the political parties of the ruling class of Kenya and their affiliates are both committed to imposing the democracy of capitalism, neocolonialism, corruption, tribalism, cronyism, greed, primitive accumulation, dictatorship, and exploitation of person by person in the country.

CPK is sure that the democracy of the ruling capitalist class is not what the majority of Kenyans struggled for or desire for the present and future of our country. To struggle for genuine democracy, participatory democracy, social and national liberation today also means to struggle against the status quo represented by the two political parties, their political affiliations, ideology, and what they represent.

CPK is committed to organizing and struggling for political power through participating in national elections to provide to the Kenyan people alternative social, political, and economic policies different than the present status quo and geared towards socialism.

Summary of the Minimum Program of CPK

1. Creating enabling conditions for sustainable development in providing social security for all Kenyans by first building a three-tier democratic and complementary economic system composed of the state, cooperative and private sectors.

2. Struggling to liberate the economy, politics, and international trade relations of the country from neo-colonialism and imperialism.

3. Working to defend and consolidate the progressive political reforms and democratic gains won by the struggle of the people, and that are embodied in the Constitution of Kenya. In this regard, we will collaborate with other progressive Kenyans, parties, civil society organisations, and movements to struggle for the realization of the basic tenets of the constitution on the

sovereignty of the people, human rights, national values and principles of governance, separation of powers, checks and balances and devolution of government with popular participation of the people at all levels of government.

4. Implementing development policies and strategies that aim at providing—progressively—basic needs and services for individuals and families such as security to a person, shelter, food, water, health, education, and employment and that are also entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya.

5. Reinstating the freedom and sovereignty of our country, people, and resources rather than surrendering our nation to neo-colonialism and imperialism.

6. Fostering partnership with the Kenyan people and friendly nations and people for the ownership and provision of services by the commanding heights of the economy, including money/banks/financial institutions, transport and communications and infrastructure, major natural water towers and waterworks, and power generation.

7. Engaging the most suitable technologies available in the provision of services and implementation of development and maintenance of projects. We need not reinvent the wheel; we need only adapt it and make it work for our purposes.

8. Mobilizing and facilitating Kenyans to conserve, protect, develop, and utilize our natural resources and environment sustainably for the present and future generations of Kenyans. We will make and implement policies that will ensure investment in natural resources brings direct and indirect benefits to the local communities as envisioned by the Constitution of Kenya.

9. Providing public-funded universal and compulsory primary and secondary education as a first stage. CPK will also

provide high-quality, affordable, and subsidized college and university education, with the ultimate objective of making education free at all levels. At the same time, we will mobilize Kenyans to formulate an education and cultural policy that aims at eradicating illiteracy, poverty, and underdevelopment while producing conscious, creative, and independent social beings capable of realizing their talents, knowledge, and skills in the service of the nation, society, and humanity.

10. Implementing policies of fighting tribalism and of building national cohesion. We will mobilize Kenyans to celebrate their rich cultural and linguistic diversity in the interest of national unity and social progress. We will develop the national and official languages of Kenya as well as those of the various Kenyan nationalities.

11. Implementing, in words and deeds, policies of combatting and eradicating corruption and misuse of public resources.

12. Adopting a class and gender approach to development in all spheres of life.

13. Implementing vigorously chapter eleven of the Constitution of Kenya to reduce the gap between urban and rural areas, to lead to equality between the various regions and Counties of Kenya.

14. Carrying out progressive land and agrarian reforms based mainly on land use for sustainability and land resources use for national development and on the principle of land to and for the tillers.

15. Carrying out a progressive national defense policy to ensure human and national security and the elimination of terrorism and imperialist military bases in the country.

16. Implementing an independent foreign policy based on peace, solidarity, friendship, mutual respect, and reciprocity with all nations and peoples of the world while adhering to the principle of the right of all nations to self-determination and socialist internationalism. This also includes the realization of the East African Federation as fast as possible together with a progressive Pan-Africanist African Union.

Maximum Program of CPK

CPK is a Marxist-Leninist party whose ultimate program is to achieve socialism in Kenya, East Africa, Africa, and the world. The strategies and tactics of achieving this objective are based on the historical and material conditions of Kenya and the world today.

THE VOI DECLARATION, ORGANISING KENYANS FOR ACTION TOWARDS THE 4TH LIBERATION – 2022 THINK OUTSIDE THE BOX!

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK
4 December 2021

Communist Party of Kenya (CPK), Shirikisho Party, KADU Asili, Umoja Summit Party and Republican Congress Party together with CIDI movement have jointly declared:

1. That as the political parties based in the coastal region of Kenya, we will continue to meet and work together to inspire the citizens of the region to fight for the political and economic rights of the coastal people and Kenyans at large who are being exploited, oppressed and fleeced to the last drop of blood.
2. That the coalition we are working to build is not founded on a tribal basis or the exclusion of other Kenyans but to bring forth an inspiring and Uniting political movement which will bring together all Kenyans who are fleeced, exploited, oppressed and taken advantage of regardless of backgrounds and ethnicities and to organize politically and vie for political power to bring forth the much-needed liberation.
3. That we strongly and firmly condemn, unequivocally and in no uncertain terms the leaders and leadership of the coast region that are voted into power year in, year out yet offer no solution to the dire issues facing the people of this region but only take care of their stomachs and issues surrounding their political class that affect them and nobody else. It is for this reason that we come

together in search of alternative leadership and alternative politics to fight and deliver our liberation.

We need and we fight for alternative leadership to unite us to achieve the following:

1. Continue meeting and working together to fight for the political and economic rights of the coastal people and Kenyans at large
2. Politics not of tribe but organizing all Kenyans and especially the oppressed to attain liberation for all
3. Refuse to work with leaders from the coast or Kenya at large who do not bring about change and offer a political option. Through:
    a) Fighting for land, land resources and to eliminate the squatter issues in the region;
    b) To ensure that our Human rights issues are respected. We are tired of seeing the youth of the coastal region being attacked, arbitrarily arrested, terror profiled, kidnapped and even killed by the police every day on baseless accusations. The rights of the coastal people and the Kenyan peoples at large MUST be upheld and respected;
    c) The rights of Citizenship of the Coastal people MUST be upheld and respected in the same manner. People of Coastal origin like all Kenyans at large MUST be furnished with registration documents such as identification cards and passports without discrimination.
    d) Deal with issues of the coast region by meeting regularly through the political parties to fight for political and economic conditions of the Coastal region and Kenyans at large.

4. That the political parties based in the coastal region will continue to conglomerate to inspire the coastal people and Kenyans at large to elect political leadership that bring a political and economic structure to the country that heralds equality of all classes of people devoid of oppression and exploitation of any kind of person by person.
5. That we will work with other like-minded organizations both public and private towards the activities, organizing and realization of the liberation of the coastal region and the country of Kenya at large.

CHARTER OF THE UNITED FRONT OF LEFT POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (UFLPPO)

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK

17 April 2022

Kenyans demand progressive change embodying the realization of political liberties, participatory democracy, human rights, sustainable development and social justice!

Yes, the future of Kenya can only be rooted in a political system guided by the human values and philosophy of social justice and equality in society. For we cannot build a future on the suffering of many Kenyans for the benefit of a few and the inhuman values of the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person.

WHEREAS a Government reflecting all the people of Kenya, and excluding none, is an historical demand of the Kenyan people; AND CONSCIOUS of Kenya's noble history and greatness and its true traditions of national struggle for its ideals; AND WHEREAS we cannot base or build our society on the system of exploitation and oppression of person to person, prejudice, fear or hatred of each other; AND WHEREAS safety will not be found in the bosom of one's ethnic or racial cocoon, nor will the nation advance by the making of war pacts between the potentates of fiefdoms or tribal warlords, which besides cannot be a formula for choosing our Presidents or the lawmakers in Bunge;

AND WHEREAS Kenyans have rejected dictatorship and substitution of government as an opportunity for personal enrichment; ACKNOWLEDGING WITH GRATITUDE AND HUMILITY the lives, struggles, sacrifices, fortitude and courage of those in whose path we follow to ensure a free and truly

independent Kenya AND PLEDGING that we will not betray them or our people now or in the future; RECALLING that those elders, who died or survived with great suffering in the struggles for national freedom with their lives and blood gave us self-respect in the period and aftermath of colonial domination. To them we owe and return, and shall forever return, our respect and give them also our admiration and affection, and seek to emulate their love for our country, courage and persistence against tyranny and corruption;

WE PROMISE THEM that THEY SHALL NOT BE FORGOTTEN nor their deeds be unknown to our children in the generations to come, and that the deceitful veils that still withhold true acknowledgment of them will be torn away; AND WE FURTHER PROMISE THAT THIS NATION in generations to come is inherited by the spirit of its freedom fighters and not that of its Home Guards, from wherever they come;

AND WE FURTHER PROMISE that those who were ready to give up their lives, freedom and few possessions for others and a better Kenya for all after 1963, in 1966 and thereafter, and who lit candles in the encroaching gloom of successive debased, murderous and corrupt governments of betrayal will not have made their sacrifices in vain; AND RESTATING THAT THE UNDERSTANDING of all our freedom fighters of the phenomena of colonialism, imperialism and the forces of exploitation and extraction in our country, our region and our continent is our guiding light, and that our understanding of this is critical and necessary to the realization of the UFLPPO political tasks and socialist ideological beliefs;

AND WHEREAS we need to reclaim our country and give it its true national and international outlook, democracy and justice, with a government founded on institutionalized systems of

participatory democracy, our history of struggle and the ideology of equality and social justice;

RESTATING THAT THE ATTACK ON POVERTY IS OUR NATION'S MOST URGENT PRIORITY AND THUS OUR FIRST DUTY TO OUR PEOPLE; REALISING THAT ONLY THROUGH THE SYSTEM OF EQUALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CAN THE MAJORITY EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED KENYANS BE LIBERATED; IT FOLLOWS THEN THAT THROUGH SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES THAT ITS DECISIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE, AND SHALL REMAIN, GOVERNED BY ITS IDEALS, PRINCIPLES AND THE BELIEF THAT:

1. The unity of the Kenyan people, led by the working class and its allies, is paramount and the firmest guarantee of the well-being of every Kenyan.
2. UFLPPO denounces and categorically rejects political activity and political parties based upon ethnicity, regional origin, gender or religious discrimination.
3. UFLPPO rejects discrimination based on ethnicity or race by any group or groups. Every Kenyan is a part of the nation and its rightful beneficiary. Our diverse peoples in unity are cords of unassailable strength. The unity of Kenya is the bedrock of all our national political, economic and social activity and the test of our political actors and actions.
4. All Kenyans are equal parts of Kenya, equal in dignity, with equal right to resources and to equal opportunity.
5. The UFLPPO's urgent task is to ensure a national democratic change away from the destruction, sectionalism and inequities of the past and the present.

6. The UFLPPO's ultimate task is the establishment of equality and social justice and a state that nurtures and defends humanity and humane values and principles.
7. The UFLPPO shall be a coalition of political parties and organizations committed to the system of equality and social justice prescribed by Article 10 of the 2010 constitution.
8. The values and ideals that Kenya brought to its nationhood in 1963 was the rejection of colonialism—that among other things meant the abuse of power, the affirmation of freedom, both national and individual, of safety from arbitrary harm and the just access to land. Uhuru was for national unity, tolerance, hospitality and inclusiveness; for the sharing of both power and resources equitably; for freedom to think, for the concept of individual and academic independence and the flowering of creativity, among other aims.
9. These ideals have persisted in spite of governments of betrayal, corruption and murder. Government is a covenant that pledges that there shall always be increasing convergence between the promises of the Constitution of Kenya and the circumstances of every Kenyan's life. The purpose and priority of Government is to ensure that life, liberty, nutrition, health, shelter, education and democratic governance shall be adequately and increasingly the possessions of all Kenyans.
10. Quality and universal education shall be the foundation of Kenya's future, constantly reaching out to the frontiers of knowledge in the service of the people.

11. Technological knowledge and resources are made available for the widest possible use by all Kenyans in every single part of Kenya
12. Attack on poverty, but more so on the huge divide between the haves and have-nots, shall always be the priority of the UFLPPO Government and vigilance against poverty and all forms of injustice shall always be a constant.
13. Government is a duty carried out in accordance with principles and policies approved by the people with free and informed consent.
14. The UFLPPO will be and remain real. For only words and actions that have a basis in truth and possibility have reality to those in difficulty. To a people in difficulty, change is only change if something has moved from the intent of words to the tangibility of altered circumstance in the positive direction. We must not offer only words where we can deliver action. We must not offer only hope where we can offer change. Cynicism and disappointment will be the harsh critics of false words and false hope. We must be ready to face the possibility of that criticism, spoken and unspoken, with action that is clear and decisive.
15. The task of government approached correctly and with the affirmation of our people, will not only make the UFLPPO a strong force within the country but also make Kenya a strong force for social justice within our Region and on the Continent, pushing back the ever-alluring masks of reaction.
16. The UFLPPO as a party and its officers and members have loyalty to the ideas and ideals of the Coalition and not loyalty to an individual or to any ethnic or racial group or region, ethnic hegemony or class.

17. The UFLPPO will be an energetic party in county and national parliaments and governments, zealous about the immediate welfare of all its peoples.
18. Government is on the basis that all its peoples are an integral part of the nation and its decisions, remembering always that our different counties are mutually interdependent in ensuring our national political and economic survival and advancement.
19. New resources discovered, whether oil or others, are national assets on trust for all the peoples of Kenya and are to be managed accordingly for the present and future generations, not for the personal enrichment of any holder of public office in Kenya or for the benefit of multinational corporations and their allies.
20. Kenya's destiny as a democratic socialist society, as a loyal anti-imperialist partner in a community of nations, as a leader in our region and our Continent awaits the efforts of the UFLPPO and all Kenyans.
21. So then should Kenyans join the UFLPPO? We say do not only join us. Instead, when we come to implement change, let us already find your ready hands working. When we come out in peaceable mass action, let us already find you there. When we come to elections, let us find you already there as our candidate or voter for that change. We will be there. Let us meet there.
22. UFLPPO therefore does not ask Kenyans to follow. We say, let us instead meet in the efforts ahead of us, more and more Kenyans meeting together for the real change which is democratic Kenya based on the ideology of equality and social justice, the vision of UFLPPO and that of the overwhelming majority of Kenyans.

ON PARTY UNITY, THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA – INTERNAL REFLECTIONS

Kinuthia Ndung'u, Booker Ngesa Omole, Sefu Sani, Wahome Waringa, Davis Tafari Ashlin Ajiambo, Mwaivu Kaluka, Brian Mathenge, Victor Onyango, Winnie Achieng', and Leon Munala, Interim Central Committee - CPK

9 October 2022

> *"The crisis in the party cannot be understood simply at the level of the apparent splits and squabbling among communists.*
>
> *"Instead, these struggles reflect the emergence of opportunist lines in the party—and Marxist-Leninists' opposition to such lines and practices.*
>
> *"What value is it to the working class when the 'communists' are united around an opportunist line?"*

1. Introduction

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) seeks to understand the source of the current crisis within the Party. The membership needs to learn from the crisis and reflect upon the experience to help find solutions to build a stronger Party that is ideologically driven and stands firmly on the Marxist-Leninist line.

The Party came under attack when two of its senior officials joined one of the two leading political coalitions during the 2022 elections campaigns, which went against Party regulations and the 2022 CPK election guidelines. Mghanga and Wachira broke off to join the Kenya Kwanza Alliance, the coalition that thrust President William Ruto into power.

The move shook the Party because (a) the Party had taken a non-partisan position and promised its members that it would not align with any of the bourgeois coalitions. This promise was broken without recourse as it was too late for candidates to

appeal, and the breakaway members presented fabricated documents to the Kenyan authorities declaring they had the mandate to make such far-reaching decisions unilaterally. (b) The Party had already stated its position on the upcoming election; signed off by Mghanga, it had been agreed that members and candidates would 'think outside the box', and such thinking included an understanding that there was nothing of value or any difference between either of the leading coalitions. Meaning there was no need to seek out any coalitions or enter into any alliances in the first place.

As is the norm for any communist party, the CPK conducted its analysis of the 2022 elections. The Party's pre-election analysis concluded that both principal leading candidates: Ruto with Kenya Kwanza and Raila with Azimio, were comprador bourgeoisie and had nothing to offer the working class and the poor. In them, corruption, nepotism, tribalism and all the backward ideas of the old society reign.

Following the split, Mghanga and Wachira justified their decision to join the openly Right-Wing, Christian fundamentalist coalition. They called it the natural flow of things as they went where the people were. In a most fantastical tale responding to a member's demand for an explanation, they exalted the move as one of those enemies-to-lovers' tropes. Wachira explained how he would use his presence to swoop in and save the masses from under Ruto and bring them to the Left!

Wachira, drunk from his successful coup to splinter the Party with impunity, swatted attempts to discuss the other more obvious reason why this split was bad for the Party, the Left and progressives in general. The fact that joining such a populist, right-wing coalition was most likely an attempt by the Christian fundamentalists to kill the Kenyan Left. He was a pawn who had

been targeted because he was a senior official of the CPK. The KK alliance wanted to kill one of the few remaining revolutionary political movements and, as of now, the only known ideologically driven political party.

For a communist, the amoral justification for joining the coalition headed by the man who oversaw the broadest and fastest-growing rates of inequality in the history of independent Kenya—when he was the Deputy president—is an indigestible serving of irony.

After the dust settled, the truth rose above the minorities' dramatics, political theatre, and posturing during the campaign. It was simple, straightforward; none of that complicated, saviour-hero complex narrative Mghanga and Wachira had been weaving during the heat of the campaign. Clearly, their excuses had been nothing but word salad: using big words to hide their shame and soothe their public conscience from the clear guilt that they split out of self-interest. These former CPK officials were nothing but reactionary opportunists who saw the chance to gather material wealth and possibly get State appointments if Ruto won and took it. They were no longer interested in the class struggle. Lured by the glittering power and the wealth of the primitive wealth accumulator, Ruto, they took the easy way and split from the Party: splitting the Party along the way.

What cuts about this split is that, more than anyone, the duo understood just how bad things would get for the masses. The writing was on the wall: analysed and published by Mghanga, from the time Ruto emerged as the clear leading candidate, the clock on democracy started ticking. The question of his brutal past, corrupt legacy and imperialistic tendencies, coupled with the state corruption and mismanagement he had overseen as the deputy president, clearly indicated that class warfare would

intensify—worse with Ruto, who seems to have no limit. It was natural that they would betray the cause, the poor and the Party. The talk of the poor was only rhetoric to win the masses on their side.

If nothing else sticks, this is the one thing that everyone in the Party, everyone in the struggle and those in solidarity with the Kenyan working class must understand. The temptation is real: William Ruto, a graduate of the brutal YK92, the brutal youth under the dictator Moi, and the immediate Deputy President who presided over the same problems he is purporting to solve, will potentially be a worse manager for the country than any other president before him.

That is why, in preparation to face and fight the battles ahead, we must reflect upon this split, so we learn and strengthen ourselves and others who will be looking for a home: be they progressives, leftists or fellow Communists that have a firm belief in the class struggle. Our reflections will take three lenses: an internal examination of why it happened, an external review of what happened, and a reflection on what this all means for the Party by looking at what happens now and next.

2. Internal Reflections: Why the Party Split

We are not unique: what Mghanga and Wachira did was neither exceptional nor extraordinary. Senior members sometimes leave their parties, and life-long fighters tire or become traitors to the struggle. Their decision to split from the Party is an average and potentially accounted for as a cost of the struggle.

What concerns the Party, and is therefore cause for reflection, is not that they split but the fact that despite splitting and being unable to drag the majority of the Party with them, the duo and their supporters still think they have a right to demand

the rest of the Party goes along with them. In fact, they have been engaging in active sabotage to derail the Party. Why?

Is this just arrogance borne of a power-drunk euphoria from the promises made to the minority by Ruto, or is it a sign of something more profound: a more sinister reason, perhaps? If they had just up and left the Party, there would be no articles about them. We would probably reflect on the departure of senior members, but it would neither be urgent nor with such concern. However, their continued conduct after leaving, particularly efforts to sabotage the Party and the decision to cling to the 'struggle', indicates there are more significant forces at play than simple sour grapes.

Therefore, the Party reasons that Mghanga and Wachira's departure is a sign of a deeper crisis: the first omen of the bad things to come and the direction that the struggle will take, both within the Party and for all Kenyans in general.

What William Ruto did in his search for power was expected, nothing out of the ordinary. He followed his nature. He acted according to his character and conditioning. It is the nature of the beast that the Kenyan neo-colonial system elevates the worst in our midst to the most powerful positions. It's a conspiracy of criminal gangs against the people. The poor are nothing but their pawns. We are voting machines to be manipulated by dirty money and lies. We are put in constant trauma and suffering, and any attempt to overthrow them is 'illegal'. What a silly democracy in which we are forced to accept murderers, robbers, and grabbers as our leaders. Nothing will change until the system is broken and rebuilt.

The elections in Kenya are polarised between two reactionary camps, trying to outwit one another through politics of lies, deception, outright bribery and using corporate media to drive

certain narratives that are not anchored on truth. It is also essential to know that the leaders of those reactionary camps, Ruto and Raila, are firmly in one class: that of the billionaires. They represent the old society, the degenerating class of the capitalist and not the class of the future—the proletariat.

That is why the CPK choose to take a neutral stand in the presidential race. It was a concerted decision, and we refused to be dragged into the dog fight or to force our members, and candidates, to choose one group of thieves over the other.

Wachira's view of Ruto was at par with the universally held view and was in line with analysis and opinion held by the Party. His pre-alliance sentiments were reflected on his Twitter post:

> *"Concerning the economy: William Ruto is rooting for an approach which will informalise the economy even further, and allow for the worst LOOTING of public funds. Musalia Mudavadi thinks NEO-LIBERALISM on steroids is the answer. Raila Odinga seems quiet."*

From his Tweet, Wachira took the issue further making it clear that, while the two reactionary camps had nothing to offer Kenyans, Ruto's rhetoric and campaign proposal would be worse for Kenyans than the other. Ruto would be more dangerous and more damaging for the poor and the Kenyan economy in general.

However, when Ruto's people came knocking in their desire to kill ideology-driven parties and destroy the few leftist parties remaining, Mwandawiro and Wachira saw their moment and in the most opportunistic of moves, betrayed the Party. Using fabricated resolutions—that even if valid had been overtaken by the published directives of the CPK 2022 election guidelines—the duo joined the new Kenya Kwanza Alliance.

In his response to the Party Youth League, Mwandawiro Mghanga was less fantastical than his student Wachira. His

hastily composed reply was like the flick you give to a worrying child—as if the members of the Youth League could never comprehend the depth of his understanding and therefore did not deserve the respect of an explanation. Using the imagined authority of his former position as the National Chairperson (he was no longer the chairperson, for he had resigned in 2019 following the Political Parties' regulatory directives that no Party official could hold Public Offices—and had never been reinstated) he wove lies in a word-salad of response not worth reading except to marvel at the intended insult. Below is Mghanga's reply to the Youth League dated April 11, 2022.

> *Dear comrades*
>
> *Greetings! Thanks for your email. I am writing to assure you that the steps we are taking to enter into alliances with other political parties is in the ontrest of the party and also constitutional. It could not be otherwise and I as the chairperson can and will never do anything contrary to the in ntetest of the party of rebolution which does not come out of our subjective wishes but on concrete material and historial conditions.*
>
> *In the present material conditions it is demanded that we enter into principles alliances with other Kenyan political parties and other formations of CPK has to move forward. Remember rebolution does not in a straight line but on zigzags but ways forward.*
>
> *Comrades I will elaborate this when we meet on the course of the present striggles and future.*
>
> *Long live CPK!*
> *Long live socialism!*
>
> *Mwandawiro Mghanga.*

It is important to note that any attempts to meet the membership in form of the National Congress has been frustrated by the duo with the help of the Kenyan state. For two senior leaders in the party to decide unilaterally to join one camp and only start to justify that position afterward is a mockery of the

Party processes. The position goes against the spirit and the letter of the party's official position. It is a hostile move beyond petty betrayal or any other emotion one may wish to assign to their grievous acts. Even after their split, the rest (and the majority) of the Party's position remains unwavering, the same today as it was when it was signed and published on the party's official website and the party's official magazine—*Itikadi.* With this divergence, the Party dispassionately interprets the split in a number of ways:

1. By joining Kenya Kwanza, the minority is now known as CPK Kenya Kwanza (CPK-KK). We have assigned them this name to distance ourselves from their activities because they refuse to leave the Party alone. They will keep dragging the CPK name along with them in the hopes of wringing out every last bit of advantage they can trade for their fortunes. So, we have to set them aside and move on, or the Party will be stuck in the mud-fight and forced to split its focus, which we have seen cannot be allowed to happen.
2. CPK-KK is now an appendage of the neo-colonial Kenyan state by their alliance with the Kenya Kwanza Alliance. They are apologists for Mr Ruto's political rhetoric that flip-flops among three phrases: the hustlers versus the dynasty, the bottom-up economic model and Kenya first, rally call. Their attempts to pervert the people's struggle using these phrases do not reflect the class struggle. They are not an alternative because Ruto is an unapologetic turbo-capitalist and an imperialist stooge.
3. We call their bluff: the fantastical declaration that CPK-KK will use their new clout as a State appendage to build the party through class collaboration. Because of the

second reason stated above, we believe this will be their weapon of choice: a play on words by the saboteurs who deploy them as weapons to infiltrate and then silence the Leftist progressive movement. After all, why bother clinging to these labels if they are already with the people: the duo and their followers are now full puppets of Ruto and the capitalist State and exist to serve the right-wing fundamentalist movement to its ends.

With the three reflections above, a picture begins to emerge that shows why Mghanga and Wachira *'had to'* make such risky, fraudulent moves to join the coalition and their subsequent conduct, why they were willing to burn the Party—with the majority of its membership—to the ground in their fervour to join with Ruto.

1. It is why, despite leaving of their own volition, these former senior officials feel it was necessary to keep pulling on to the Party.
2. It is why they felt they had a right to drag the rest of the membership to the right—and did so with enthusiasm and righteous indignation—because that was their trade-off and value to Ruto and the State, whether they knew it or not.
3. It is why, most of all, they feel like they are still Communists despite being beholden to the State and deliberately sabotaging the organising and administration activities of the Party.

Clearly, Mghanga and Wachira were nothing but puppets dancing to William Ruto's infamous MO. Ruto's modus operandi is well known. When he was the Deputy President, he pulled in the poor whose poverty he was perpetuating using his now-perfected rags (chicken farmer) to billionaire narrative. He spoke

of his sudden 'riches' as blessings and collected televangelists and other religious leaders who preached the US-grown prosperity gospel narrative and sold his story as the path to prosperity and blessings. In other words, by supporting and believing in Ruto, poor Kenyans—the hustlers—would jump from their current poverty levels to join the billionaire class. If nothing else, he knew the tricks the 'others' in government used to steal from Kenyans, and they should elect him because he was now a Christian like them and would go in there and stop it from happening.

His tears at the prospect of facing legal consequences and his weekly donations to churches and other humble brags went a long way to appeal to the poor, who saw him as a victim. He elevated himself from a man riddled with state corruption and a brutal past and called himself a God-given saviour to the Kenyan poor. This struck a deep chord leading to the same populist airs that swept Donald Trump's followers in America.

Now that Ruto is the president, he needs more than preachers speaking of miracles and new places to shed tears to remain 'humble' and connected with the poor. After cannibalising the Christians, he needs to wear a different skin, which is why the new patchwork of progressives and Leftists he has collected will give him the cover he needs as he builds and strengthens his cover image so he can move about and do as he pleases. That is why he pursued Wachira and Mghanga: they bought him cover during the campaigns and will likely be called on again and again to shed political tears the more time he has to advance his cause.

3. External Reflections: What Happens Now That the Party Is Split?

The pitiful explanations about joining the 'other side' to 'convert them from within' was a sad attempt for a man who once

stood as a bastion against dictator Moi and refused to bow to the powers of capitalist dictatorships, no matter how strong they were. Every revolutionary, especially one seasoned as Mghanga, understands better than others the dark allure of this corrupt power. They also know they are the perfect targets for recruitment as double agents or, in the case where the State, like in Kenya, is as corrupt as it is shameless, as impotent symbols of democracy or other theatres the ruling class play on the poor majority.

Mghanga and Wachira fell for this trope or agreed to it. But considering they are no blushing revolutionary and idealistic youth looking to imprint on the next populist movement that just happens to walk by, what happens next is on them. Whatever price they will pay is on them, for there is always a price to pay for joining their side. So far, they are still making basic moves intended to drag the rest of the Party screaming to the KK alliance. This has been met with resistance, but we must admit it has been costly to the Party. All the same, we can expect they will do more or be required to make sacrifices to prove they are fully converted and part of the hustler movement.

In a ritualised move, Wachira and Mghanga did precisely what our colonial collaborators did to justify siding with the British colonialists. Like the colonial collaborators, they were selected because of their position of influence. After buying into the idea, they repeated the same words all collaborators have spoken before them: they spoke of how, by being with the power, they would learn the wicked ways of the sausage-making of the colonial masters and use that knowledge to lead a revolution from within. Sounds familiar? Mghanga's analysis of Ruto explains why it was so easy for them to fall for his charm:

> *"Ruto is a known kleptocrat who is nothing but corrupt, greedy, capitalist dictators who will only increase inequality: fixing Kenyans within the boxes they want to endure. The system of the capitalist political parties in power today is for the interests of the class of the rich few and not for that of you, the majority of Kenyans, who are poor, marginalised, and desperate." (Mwandawiro Mghanga, 2022).*

For someone with such strong—and clear—understanding to make such an about-turn and become a Ruto apologist, Mghanga must have undergone either an intense re-education or rather sold his soul to preserve a system of robbery and racketeering. Whatever happened, it must have been a powerful re-education for him to turn so fast and so completely. From this side of the revolution, his turn was not unlike the vaulted mafia, where one is forced to kill or commit a capital crime to be accepted as a member of the *'family.'* It is why the Party is neither surprised nor concerned that their mission since walking off has been to keep looking back and creating as many obstacles to sabotage and distract the Party as they can. We believe this is the only way they can prove they are 'full-blooded hustlers' deep with Ruto.

Such intense and unrelenting attacks—coming after the campaigns are over—are why these reflections matter now more than ever. The battle had changed tactics, reverting to the days of dictator Moi when resistance and opposition were silenced by buying off the leaders. Ruto, a more polished version of the dictator Moi, will not be blunt enough to deploy the weapons himself. His 'coalition' was just the beginning. Expect things to get worse from here on, even when it appears that Mghanga and Wachira have 'proven' themselves by their incessant sabotage of the Party. Their mission is not accomplished.

What would make the most ultra-capitalist, corrupt president happier than sabotaging one of the few remaining ideologically opposed, progressive, leftist parties and power bases in Kenya?

And if he can use former insiders to do it, wouldn't it be sweeter? To the departed minority who joined the Kenya Kwanza Alliance, we are an obstacle: the thing standing on their path to whatever lofty promises they have been given. They are in limbo—caught between the pull of their old selves and the new promise of riches and life under the protection of the State. But the former is only a public pull for their actions speak of a total commitment to their new course. As such, we are a threat to their 'supremacy' and the promised land: every day we stand and resist, we symbolise their failure to complete their mission. We are an obstacle. We are now the enemy.

That is why they keep looking back and working so hard to sabotage and 'finish' us and why they will never stop, because this is exactly how Uhuru Kenyatta managed to 'finish' Raila Odinga. If you recall, Odinga was the voice of opposition following the contested 2017 general elections. He proved to the Court that the election was rigged and that Uhuru and Ruto—his rivals—had stolen the victory from him, and the Court ordered a repeat of the polls. Even then, Raila was already tired: being older and foolishly trusting the appeal of his mystique to carry him through to victory, he took his eye off the ball and lost for the third time to Uhuru and Ruto.

But what happened next shocked even his most loyal supporters. On the day Raila Odinga was supposed to be crowned the People's President by the people who truly believed he had won and had been rigged out of not one, not two, but three elections, Raila changed his convoy and drove to State House, where we were treated to the now, infamous handshake with Uhuru Kenyatta. That was his downfall and the loss of his allure.

After joining the 'enemy' for the second time, Raila lost the teeth to fight against a corrupt regime, for there was no credible

voice of opposition to question Ruto and Uhuru's rampant corruption and mismanagement of the country. Raila was done: he went into bed with the State, and there was no space for even thought of opposing it because how could he? The handshake was also reminiscent of what he did with the dictator Moi when he joined forces with Moi under the *tinga tinga* movement.

As with dictator Moi, Raila could not authentically call on true support during the elections. In 2002, he called out for President Kibaki and took a back seat to support him because Kibaki had remained firmly in the opposition and made an effort to remove the dictator Moi from power. In 2022, he looked up to his political partner Uhuru to support him back, but considering the disaster of Uhuru's presidency, there was no solid support. He had been declawed and blunted into a caricature of his worst nightmare.

This is the fate of revolutionaries who join their oppressors and the people they have spent their lives fighting. They are never let free: they can be released to wreak havoc and to become political fodder in heated battles, but breaking the faith and collaborating with the former enemies leaves a bad taste in the mouth’s of the people because nobody will ever be sure for whom you speak.

It is not just in Kenya that the resistance has been betrayed by its leaders. 'Communists', too, have a long and sordid history of betrayal and selling out. For example, Mghanga's bold claims that he would be going in to convert the masses is a reminder of the self-proclaimed Marxist Bill Warren of the United Kingdom.

Bill, holding his 'Leninist' lenses, held a strong opinion that capitalism or imperialism in the form of direct colonial rule played a revolutionary role in the southern hemisphere. According to him, colonialism performed a historic role in those

non-European regions, economically, culturally, and politically through capital exports and improving the productive forces in those colonies—whitewashing the savagery of colonialism and making it look revolutionary. In the history of the global communist movements, even in Lenin's time the opportunist crusaders of the second international published a heap of garbage to justify their opportunistic line.

This is what Mghanga and Wachira have done, and it rings of the very words used by Raila, twice, to join with his fellow capitalist stooges. We cannot deny that, yes, we are in class politics. However, outright joining one faction of the capitalist class to deceive the masses is not class struggle but class collaboration. Kenya Kwanza means Kenya First; this is a slogan of petty nationalism.

That is why when it comes to class positioning, the CPK-KK leaders are part of the comprador class; these scoundrels have no manners. They have thrown in their lot with Ruto: an unrepentant primitive accumulator of wealth. Their apologist statements to justify his conduct reeks of stupid, fantastical lies and must be rejected with hostility. These dimwits, now puppets of global cabals and their silly think tanks, can only lead the party to the gutters.

Other infamous traitors to the global communist cause, like Bernstein and Kautsky, are reminders that even seemingly genuine communists can turn. For a while, the duo pretended to be worshippers of Marx and Engels before they exposed themselves. Now, they are recorded in history as traitors. They betrayed Marxism, Marx and Engels, their comrades in the revolution. We also remember Trotsky, the chap who held an important post in the Bolshevik Party and became an enemy of

the Soviet state. Zhang Guo-tao defected from Mao Zedong and the CPC to Jiang Jie-shi.

All these traitors ended their days in misery, but did those revolutions get frustrated or retreat because of their betrayals? The revolution developed and surged with fresh vitality each time the turncoats were removed.

After the removal of Trotsky, how remarkably socialist construction was promoted in the Soviet Union! Trotsky thought that without him, everything Stalin did would fail, and the Soviet state would go to ruin. But the Soviet people built their country up to be the leading socialist power in the world, as well as a global power. After Zhang Guo-tao deserted the CPC and became a Kuomintang parasite, the Chinese revolution did not wane; on the contrary, it continued its upward spiral and achieved nationwide victory.

If the revisionists do not want to make a revolution, they are welcome to go their own way. But the danger lies in the fact that they are even opposed to other people making a revolution and go to the lengths of imposing revisionism upon others. In doing so, they call the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who refuse to follow their revisionist opportunist line the enemies of the working class. This is sickening and absurd!

4. Reflections on What Happens Next

With these reflections, the Party must also accept criticism—internal criticism that comes from these honest reflections, not the harsh retrogressive criticism from the bourgeoisie, other political parties and their sympathisers—to determine what, if any, action out to be taken to prevent a repeat of the same mistakes.

We can draw from our reflections that people betray their Parties and the communist cause for several reasons. Dwelling

on these traitors is a distraction revolutionaries can ill afford. One can only move forward and strengthen the Party from within to prevent future direct sabotage from within and to ensure their departure does not weaken the Party.

Through this publication, the Party seeks to hold itself accountable for its mistakes and restructure itself to account for past errors to emerge even stronger as a vanguard of the Kenyan working class. We intend to build a party conscious of its continental and international duties. We have made mistakes, individually and as an organisation, and it will be foolish not to learn from them.

4.1 Who We Are

The Communist Party of Kenya is incorruptible; we have never received any monies from the State, even when facing the most extreme difficulties. We will not allow this record to be sullied by two senior officials, no matter the appeal of that quick means. Neither should we lie to ourselves that much good can come from such a collaboration.

That the faction already failed in its online and even illegal smear campaigns is a dash of confidence that the majority of the membership, that firmly believes in the revolution, is aware of the fallacies of these delusions of 'going where the people' are. We can confidently assert that we don't bow down to criminals or a tyrant's fury; we fight more forcefully.

Should it come to pass that, with the help of this State or as part of the State, the former comrades should try to neutralise our voices; the membership will never kneel before the dirty capitalists. Not in fear of state-sponsored violence or psychological war from the reactionary elements. We are the beacon of resistance. Those who try to make us prisoners of bourgeois legality will fail miserably.

Earlier, we had mentioned the word-salad response Mghanga gave to the members of the Young Communist League. It is important to acknowledge the deliberation and process that went into posing those questions to the former National Chairperson. Future communists can see the collected and unwavering respect the members had for the Party procedures and the democratic proceedings that went into the discussions with Mghanga.

April 10, 2022

Hello Comrades, receive our revolutionary greetings from the young communist league, we wish to seek your indulgence and clarification on the purported coalition agreement between the Communist Party of Kenya and the United Democratic Alliance under the Kenya Kwanza Coalition.

There has been confusion among the YCL cadres. After not receiving proper directions on the matter from the central leadership, we convened a virtual meeting on April 10 at 8:00 pm to deliberate on the same. After hearing from the members of the YCL, we concluded that if the purported plan were true, it would be detrimental to the party in general.

As a revolutionary and a vanguard party, our organisational discipline must be guided by Democratic centralism as stipulated in our party constitution. We wish to know if such due process was followed and why the move to Join the Coalition was made?

We are looking forward to your timely response.

Regards

Young Communist League

While Mghanga's response was meant to divert the questions away from the substance of the weighty matters by falsely using his former position to prop his response, it is clear that even then, the former chairman failed to see the big picture. To him, political power was the goal: no matter how 'zigzag' the road it took to get there. That is the corruption of ideology and why we learn that

political power, particularly the parliamentary process, is not the way to liberate people. Indeed, Mghanga had made the same arguments when asking Kenyans to think outside the box. Turning back to look at the zig-zag political compromise as the path to revolution was a perversion of the ideology as it changed the objective of the revolution—not as a means to defeat the class system—into some game for political power. This is a clear case of miseducation and a clear ploy to dilute, eventually killing, the Party and its revolutionary character.

We don't even see the parliamentary system as a way to liberate our people, but we must participate in the bourgeoisie elections because we cannot abandon the people to only the reactionary ideas of the ruling class. Also, winning elected positions gives us the power to entrench the resistance and strengthen the struggle, for socialism will only happen when the power structures are changed from within: taking back from the minority oppressors and giving to the majority working class.

4.2 How to Get There

4.2.1 Use Theory and Action to Cement the Unity of the Party. We Have a Big Problem When the Party Is Theoretically Clear but Acts Otherwise

It is as old as that adage of doing as I say and not as I do—a perversion of communism. The recent split is one example of this perversion: The party had been crystal clear on the issue of coalitions and published a document entitled *'On the 2022 General Elections, Kenyans Think out of the Box'*. This was the right thing to do, for it is a tradition for communists globally to publish their works and to use those theoretical analyses as a guide for action.

The document was published as the official party position on the 2022 elections; it was propagated as one of the primary

documents in the study circles and all the party branches. Despite this analysis and the publication, the officials still went into the box and joined with one of the competing coalitions: fixing members and candidates in an untenable position and creating antagonistic differences that led to the eventual split.

There are differences, and there are differences; there are contradictions, and there are contradictions. We have learnt of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions; both cases have different ways to resolve them in the party. The contradictions between labour and capital have no peaceful resolution. The contradictions between the reactionary opportunist and revolutionary lines have no peaceful solution.

4.2.2 We Must Also Recognise and Rectify the Party's Compromised Foundation

The party comes from a Social Democratic tradition; this has compromised the organisation line of the party. To retain the prerequisite requirement for the party to be registrable under the bourgeoisie legality, the leadership opened a floodgate for membership under what was called mass members. These strata of membership had no theoretical or practical basis for joining the party, and some were just entered into the party register as fillers. It is better to have no party members than to have fake members; this was a severe error in our attempt to build a vanguard party of the Kenyan working class.

The majority of the people in leadership were half-baked or, worse, had no clue of how to be a member of a communist party. Their class origin was never correctly investigated, so we had a Central Committee jammed with people from the petit bourgeoisie strata of society and not the working class. These people found their way into the party leadership through personal ties and individual appointments; this is a second organisational

error we must correct. To build a party of the Marxist-Leninist type knows no shortcut, and we must always be willing to toil for the party to stand.

4.2.3 When Opportunism has Transitioned to Active Class Collaboration, Like in Our Party, a Split Must be Pursued in a Thoroughgoing Fashion

Class collaboration is only a means to auction the working class to their murderers, the bourgeoisie. This crisis also presents an opportunity for all comrades to embrace the rectification program the party is rolling out. As comrade Mao Zedong puts it:

> *"The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, criticism, persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." (Mao Zedong, 1957)*

No single leader should be seen to impose his will on the membership.

The abstractions or illusions of class struggle will vaporise and give way to the concrete class struggle that unfolds daily before us. The fantasies of advancing class war through Ruto's hustler narrative is the yardstick to measure degeneration or opportunism in our party ranks. In our view, the crisis in the party cannot be understood simply at the level of the apparent splits and squabbling among communists. Instead, these struggles reflect the emergence of opportunist lines in the party—and Marxist-Leninists' opposition to such lines and practices. What value is it to the working class when the "communists" are united but united around an opportunist line?

We vividly remember the historical degeneration of the Second International and the more recent betrayals of the workers in the history of our struggles, both in Lenin and Mao's eras.

There are differences, those that require splits and those that do not; not all differences can be lumped as sectarianism. If those differences are antagonistic or are in an opportunistic line, especially by senior cadres or leadership of the party, then those differences must draw hostility from the membership.

The members must not be prisoners of bourgeois legality; they must aggressively and with a lot of determination intensify ideological struggle in the party. Tactics such as revolutionary violence should be used to decimate cancerous elements in the party. In that way, there is no problem with splitting the party as a mechanism to prepare the party for enriched unity in its purest form.

Stealing the party and preserving its unity must be devoid of commandism from the top leadership and be done only through active ideological struggle without sinking to conciliate opportunism. Those comrades that fall into error must accept and start a rectification process immediately. Without that, they can only be purged and replaced with able comrades; we are never short of revolutionaries to replenish our ranks.

Any illusion that the drivers of class collaboration in the party led by Mghanga and Wachira will surrender in humiliation is a fantasy; these individuals are succeeding in their mandate. They have a plan to disrupt any organisation of the left and put the party on its knees. This is the task they do shamelessly and consciously. So, they have to be crushed to atoms or broken beyond recognition and forgotten in the practical life of the party. Then we would have started the process of rectification.

Those comrades that have fallen for such irresponsible fantasies peddled by the young Wachira and his older brother Mghanga should go back and study Marx more carefully. The thought of imposing class consciousness from a force above the

masses and riding on the hustler rhetoric of Ruto to advance the class struggle in Kenya is what Lenin would call an infantile disorder or petty-bourgeois childishness. They must know that the duo firmly supports class collaboration; that's what they have been hired to do. So far, they had a momentary victory by using bourgeois instruments to frustrate the party.

4.2.4 Can the Two Factions Unite?

On calls for unity, what use would be a united communist party be to the proletariat if that unity is based on revisionism and opportunism? We have received calls to unite the party, but how is that possible with criminals? The pathetic few, who continue to call themselves leaders, have given themselves positions in the working-class movement; we must never forget that the party congress is divine. The enemies in the party have belittled the importance and the authority of the congress.

We begin by taking ownership of splits, and betrayal is part of the struggle. CPK is a product of the struggle; no single individual, however senior in the party, can claim ownership of the Communist Party of Kenya. The true heroes are the sons and daughters of the poor who continue to martyr in the streets defending this democratic space.

Death to opportunism!
Death to Revisionism!
Long live the party of the Working Class!
Long live CPK!

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5. Addendums

5.1 Wachira's Defence on Why He Joined Kenya Kwanza

On April 11 2022, the party's youth league wrote an email to Mghanga, Wachira's teacher, questioning the unilateral decision to join the Kenya Kwanza brigade. The reply was brief and swift: he affirmed that he is the party's chairperson and that the unilateral decisions were constitutional. He then went further to say that the decision was not based on subjective wishes but concrete material and historical reality and concluded that it was made out of principle.

Below is Wachira's defence verbatim on why he joined Kenya Kwanza; he opens it with a mockery of the comrade questioning him. A crude tactic to disempower any debate, plainly insinuating that the comrade should seriously retake his revolutionary classes.

> *"It depends on how good you attended the classes my comrade. CPK is founded first and foremost on class politics. The proletariat on one side, and the bourgeoisie on the other. In the politics of today, one side is pushing for hustler-dynasty divide (class politics in simplistic terms) while the other side is talking about bourgeois politics. Where should the CPK stand? Should the communists sit back and allow the class politics to be pushed by others, or should we get in there and sharpen it further?*

In the past, the Party has remained neutral during elections. Also, those who own and control capital (as a class) in Kenya have in the past publicly pretended to remain neutral, but they have secretly supported the two leading sides. However, this year, for the first time in recent times, those who own and control the commanding heights of the economy have openly taken sides with Azimio. The communists therefore have a historic duty to openly take sides against that class that has openly taken sides.

CPK is the original bottom-up economics pusher. You know very well that we oppose neoliberal trickle-down economics. Now, for the first time in recent history, the neoliberal debate is on the table. Kenya Kwanza is pushing for a bottom up approach, Azimio is pushing for a trickle-down approach. Should the Party join the side that is pushing for this ideological position, or should it sit on the fence and pretend to be neutral, at a time when the masses are listening to political parties?

Lastly, remember dialectical materialism. Things do not go in a straight line. When the terrain of the struggle changes, you also change your tactics, but the struggle remains. We are in a historic period where we must participate in giving direction at the national level. Today, the Coalition is the tactic, while the Party remains the strategy."

Our take on this response:

Any revolutionary reading these for the first time would think of how revisionism and opportunism come to play and how comrades that think they are clever can use such ambiguity to justify their opportunistic line.

How is the decision constitutional without subjecting it to the party structures? To ignore democratic centralism is to betray Marxism.

Secondly, he had forgotten that just a few months ago, he had signed off the CPK position as a guide for the party; this was thoroughly studied in the party cells and adopted holistically.

The masses are not with us but the evangelicals and the hustler's crusaders. Voila, welcome aboard to the capitalist

organisation where the masses are. The hustler narrative is a declaration of class war and presents an opportunity to imbue class consciousness from a force above the working class. This is utter nonsense

The masses are not with the left movement, so we need to join the group where the masses are. We could hear them shouting at the top of their voices, a degenerating pathetic lot. Not much thinking is required to relate the Kenya Kwanza brigade to the neo-fascist racist Trump supporters in the United States of America. Kenya Kwanza can loosely be translated as Kenya First, a slogan of petty nationalism used in the filthy dungeons of white supremacists and now translated as progressive by the pseudo-communists in Kenya led by their teachers Mghanga and Wachira.

5.2 Why the CPK Participates in Elections

The reasons why communist parties participate in liberal elections can be condensed as: in the electioneering process, the masses are politically activated, and it will be irrational to abandon the masses to only reactionary ideas of the parasitic class. Secondly, it is an opportunity for the party to do propaganda work and unveil the contradictions inherent in the society and the emptiness of capitalist democracy, and finally, to use it as an empirical measure of the kind of work we have done among the masses.

If CPK is successful, the struggle leads to the sterile bourgeois parliament. This may come with benefits like access to financial resources to build the party. However, this is not necessarily so since we had elected 'members' that refused to contribute to the party and only perfected the art of cutting deals for personal gain. This is the problem we face when we allow

anyone who can pay to vie with our party and more so when those payers are not trained revolutionaries.

> *National elections that are held after every five years are made to seem to be only meaningless rituals. Yet the elections are important, for they are used to legitimise successive regimes that ensure that you remain firmly fixed in the box. Were you to come out of the box and listen to us who care for you then you would use democracy to win progressive reforms and to enhance the class struggle. All the said presidential candidates from the box being popularised by the media are capitalists.*
>
> *Their ideology and that of their political parties embrace the values and principles of capitalism. Capitalism is the system based on private property and exploitation and oppression of person by person. Capitalism is the basis of the corruption, greed, and inequality that you are fixed in the box to endure. The system of the capitalist political parties in power today is for the interests of the class of the rich few and not for that of you, the majority of Kenyans, who are poor, marginalised, and desperate (Mwandawiro Mghanga, 2022).*

6. The Fabricated Letter Mghanga and Wachira Used to Justify Unilateral Decision to Join Kenya Kwanza Alliance

Below is a snapshot of the fabricated letter that was presented to the Registrar and used at the Political Parties Tribunal to 'prove' that Mghanga and Wachira had the mandate to enter into a coalition with Kenya Kwanza Alliance.

Here is the take by the CPK on this letter:

1. Using the supposed mandate that had been given to them in 2019, from SDP resolutions, the duo assigned themselves the rights to join the Alliance according to the Political Parties. This unilateral authority did not give the rest of the Central Committee or membership any option to discuss or be consulted on this endeavour. Any Communist or reasonable person who has ever participated in organisational conduct understands this

would be a totally untenable position and power to any two individuals.

2. Contravening the Party's directives on the 2022 elections, including promises to politicians who vied under the CPK banner, the duo did as they wished. They conned unsuspecting Kenyans money by selling lies to them and those who dared question them were frustrated by denying them nomination party certificates. Some members had to leave the party to contest for the 2022 elections where they won.
3. Once these documents were presented as evidence that the duo had the right to enter into the alliance, they were accepted as true documents by the State—even when the minutes or attendance and other supporting documents were not available. There would be no help from the State on this.
4. The decision to go this far, fabricating the letter and declining to put into consideration the wishes of the membership is indicative of the larger issue at play. Specifically, joining the Kenya Kwanza was a done deal; nothing was going to turn back the clock and no logic or appeal was going to make them change their minds. By burning bridges and not caring how their conduct would be perceived by the majority, it is clear they were no longer members of the Party. CPK as we had known it was fully split and this was supported by the post-split conduct exhibited by Mwandawiro Mghanga's post-split email.

ROAD TOWARDS FORMING A UNITED FRONT OF LEFTIST POLITICAL PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS/ORGANISATIONS

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK

9 September 2021

Introduction: CPK and United Front

Even while building CPK, and as part and parcel of building CPK, our party should, with immediate effect, play a proactive role in the issue of organizing a United Front. It should be at the vanguard of creating such a coalition or alliance or a United Front. CPK is a vanguard and mass party, and therefore creating or participating in a United Front is one of the methods of mass recruitment and mobilization, mobilizing the masses, and popular forces of Kenya for power.

Subject to the content or the aim and objectives of the perceived United Front, it may take various forms or names based on the initial spirit of the United Front or Coalition. Whatever form, or name it may choose to be called, the aim is to bring together and unite all Kenyans; Kenyans who, genuinely and honestly, wish to make a positive contribution to the politics of Kenya to move away from the contemporary politics dominated by JUBILEE, ODM, ANC, FORD Kenya, WIPER, which are political parties popularized by the press every day.

What Should the Content of the Perceived United Front Be?

What is our understanding as a political party of the United Front in this regard? The United Front must be as a minimum about creating and agreeing upon an alternative and progressive political coalition or United Front aimed at organizing the Kenyan people to struggle for a government that will implement an alternative and progressive social, political, economic and

cultural system based on the national values and principles of governance described by Article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya.

The national values and principles of governance include patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people; human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized; good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and sustainable development.

Justification of the United Front: Fighting Against the Present Status Quo

How should the United Front differ from the present status quo? To begin with, the present status quo is the JUBILEE ruling coalition and the already dead opposition called ODM and what they stand for ideologically, including and not limited to killing the present Constitution of Kenya through the dirty politics of handshake and the so-called Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). Together the two coalitions form the status quo as they are just one coin with two sides. History continues to reveal that the two political parties have no will to implement the national values and principles of governance embodied in the popular Constitution of Kenya.

Kenyans fought for multiparty democracy, but not the democracy of a few political parties. There are now about sixty registered political parties in the country. This is good for the country in the current historical context because it is a manifestation of the hunger of Kenyans to actively participate in building the culture of democracy in the country. Unfortunately, JUBILEE, ODM and other few political parties such as WIPER who control the Executive, are united in their selfish conspiracy to kill other political parties in Kenya and remain the only

political parties so that together they can dominate and manipulate the politics of the country to fit their common ideology of capitalism/neoliberalism. They have started this process by conspiring to grab and share only among themselves the millions of shillings meant to fund political parties to nurture multipartism in the country. In this, they also count on the support of imperialist governments and pro-capitalist NGOs operating in the country to purport to support and teach Kenyans about democracy and human rights, particularly multiparty democracy.

The two political coalitions that dominate the country's parliament all worship bourgeois democracy as it is practiced in the USA and United Kingdom (but again only when it is convenient for them to do so). They see it as the Alpha and Omega of democracy. In the United States, that pretends to be the most democratic country in the world, political parties are suppressed, and the citizens are forced to choose to be governed by either the Republican or Democratic parties, both of which are capitalist and imperialist in ideology and practice. Similarly, in the UK, all political parties are suppressed, and the citizens have to choose from the Labour, Conservative or Liberal Democrats parties—all of which represent capitalism and imperialism. The aim of this is to use the political parties to conserve the democracy of the ruling capitalist classes and to use it to dilute class struggles by creating illusions of political changes through regular elections that ensure the capitalist and imperialist system remains intact. This is the democracy that JUBILEE, ODM, and partners are importing for Kenya. It is not the democracy the Kenyan masses wish and aspire for as the spirit of the constitution of Kenya manifestly reveals.

The JUBILEE and ODM, or to be precise Uhuru and Raila, used to present themselves as antagonistic, one in charge of the

government and one in the opposition. Yet their antagonism has always been only in form and not in content. In practice, it is a political gimmick meant to hoodwink voters and supporters who propel them to power through corruption, tribalism, and the media propaganda they control. The truth is that the two political parties and their affiliates are both committed to imposing the democracy of capitalism, neocolonialism, corruption, tribalism, cronyism, greed, primitive accumulation, dictatorship, and exploitation of person by person in the country. Yet, just as Kenyans are made to believe that there is no alternative to bourgeois democracy, they are also made to think that Kenyan politics will always be determined by either JUBILEE or ODM and the capitalist ideology they stand for.

CPK is sure that the democracy of JUBILEE and ODM is not what the majority of Kenyans struggled for or desire for the present and future of our country. To struggle for genuine democracy—participatory democracy, social and national liberation—today also means to struggle against the status quo represented by the two political parties, their political affiliations, and what they represent. Thus, the relevance of working towards forming an alternative way: United Front of the Left.

The Nature of the Proposed United Front

The United Front we conceive should be about organizing to fight for political power through participating in national elections to provide to the Kenyan people alternative social, political, and economic policies away from the present status quo. It should be a United Front of registered political parties and social movements. Individuals participating in the Front must belong to political parties or social movements/organizations that will be members of the United Front.

The question that follows is, what brings together the political parties and social movements/organizations to form the United Front? In general, it is the desire or commitment of the political parties and movements/organizations to agree to form a coalition or alliance to fight the status quo and offer alternative progressive politics and ideology for the liberation and development of the country. Details about the criteria for qualification of the political parties and social movements/organization for joining the conceived United Front, modalities, and rules of engagement should also be discussed comprehensively by the parties and movements/organizations involved. In any case, specifically, those who will be members of the United Front will agree on a common program that brings them together to form the coalition and that they will use for campaigning in national elections and that they will implement immediately when they form the government. This should be conceived as the minimum program of the United Front.

CPK's Proposal of the Minimum Program for the United Front - for Discussion by Would-Be Members

CPK will propose to the would-be members of the proposed United Front the following points of the minimum program of the United Front for discussion and adoption:

- Retaining all the progressive aspects of capitalism and putting them into the service of the people instead of the current search of super-profits for the few.
- Creating conditions for the development of providing social security for all Kenyans by building a three-tier democratic and complementary economic systems composed of the state, cooperative and private sectors.

- Struggling against the illegitimate debt burden imposed upon the country through unequal power, trade, and other relations by foreign powers.
- Working to defend and consolidate the progressive political reforms and democratic gains won by the struggle of the people, and that are embodied in the Constitution of Kenya. In this regard, we will collaborate with other progressive Kenyans, parties, and movements to struggle for the realization of the basic tenets of the constitution on the sovereignty of the people, human rights, national values and principles of governance, separation of powers, checks and balances and devolution of governments with popular participation of the people at all levels of government.
- Providing and guaranteeing, progressively, basic needs and services to the individual and the family such as security to a person, shelter, food, water, health, education, and employment that are also entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya.
- Reinstating the freedom and sovereignty of our country, people, and resources rather than surrendering our nation to imperialism.
- Fostering partnership with the Kenyan people in the ownership and provision of services by the commanding heights of the economy, such as money/banks/financial institutions, transport and communications and infrastructure, major natural water towers and waterworks, power generation.
- Engaging in the most suitable technologies available in the provision of services and implementation of development and maintenance of projects. We need not

invent the wheel; we need only adopt it and make it work for our purposes.

- Mobilizing and facilitating Kenyans to conserve, protect, develop, and utilize our natural resources and environment sustainably for the present and future generations of Kenyans. We will make and implement policies that will ensure investment in natural resources brings direct and indirect benefits to the local communities as envisioned by the Constitution of Kenya.
- Providing public-funded universal and compulsory primary and secondary education as a first stage. It will also provide high quality, affordable and subsidized college and university education, with the ultimate objective of making education free at all levels. At the same time, we will mobilize Kenyans to formulate an education and cultural policy that aims at eradicating illiteracy, poverty and underdevelopment while producing conscious, creative, and independent social beings capable of realizing their talents, knowledge, and skills in the service of the nation, society, and humanity.
- Implementing policies of fighting tribalism and of building national cohesion. We will mobilize Kenyans to celebrate their rich cultural and linguistic diversity in the interest of national unity. We will develop the national and official languages of Kenya as well as those of the various Kenyan nationalities.
- Implementing policies of combatting and eradicating corruption and misuse of public resources.
- Adopting a class and gender approach to development in all spheres of life.

- Implementing vigorously chapter eleven of the Constitution of Kenya to reduce the gap between urban and rural areas, to lead to equality between the various regions and Counties of Kenya.
- Carrying out progressive land and agrarian reforms.
- Carrying out a progressive defense policy to ensure human and national security.
- Implementing a foreign policy based on peace, solidarity, and friendship with all nations and peoples of the world while adhering to the principle of the right of all nations to self-determination. This will be our commitment to the realization of the East African Federation as fast as possible together with progressive Pan-Africanist and African Union.

PART II
APPRECIATING THE RISING FORCES AGAINST CAPITALISTS, WESTERN IMPERIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM AND NEOLIBERALISM AROUND THE WORLD

A common thread emerges when you look under the hood of oppression and exploitation. The same players, Israel and Morocco, led by the United States of America and their Western allies, repeat the same themes in different parts of the world. The same themes remain in imperialism to deny self-determination. Upgraded from the now-dirty word of colonialism, imperialism is sanitized by word, but the deeds remain the same, if not worse. Whereas in colonialism, the enemy was visible and easy to fight, US imperialism uses agents and its CIA to cultivate collaborators to elect their puppets.

On the other hand, the harsh realities of colonialism have also been sanitized with neo-colonialism, while new players Israel and Morocco, rely on the uncouth but effectively brutal apartheid and occupation, respectively. Supported by the United States and its Western allies, the goal across all these is to exploit the people, terrorize them into submission through military or other means and then deploy global media propaganda to frame it in their sanctified versions.

Shame.

In this section, the Communist Party of Kenya provides context to these struggles. The goal is to help the people of Kenya and the global community to understand that those atrocities are still being committed. By adding our voice to the struggle, we become part of the rising noise that will soon cause change and lead to freedom and justice!

A STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF SAHARAWI IN RESPONSE TO YESTERDAY'S ATTACK BY PRESIDENT RUTO

Ashlyn Ajiambo, Secretary of Ideology and International Affairs - CPK

15 September 2022

William Ruto is living up to long-held fears that he is a brute who is prone to influence for self-gain.

The Communist Party of Kenya expresses solidarity with the people of Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, SADR. It condemns the decision by President Ruto to rescind recognition of the SADR, also known as Western Sahara; a brutal policy which has sacrificed a group of people for exploitation and slaughter by the Moroccan King.

Kenyans know all too well the pain of colonisation: we suffered the savagery of British colonialism, and continue to endure exploitation and robbery, among other effects of neo-colonialism and imperialism perpetuated by the United States of America and Britain. For the President to turn around and support the occupying Moroccan force is hypocrisy and this type of inhumanity is contrary to the nature of the Kenyan people. We urge Kenyans not to turn a blind eye to the savagery unleashed upon the people of Saharawi as the Moroccan King continues to plunder, kill, maim and slaughter them.

We also point out that the King has rejected any referendum process to give the people of Saharawi a chance to choose freedom and self-determination. Instead, he is courting favours from weak-minded, would-be imperialists and dictators to support his occupation. The allegations that President Ruto's objection to Western Sahara to decide its future through a

referendum was a compromise reached after Ruto held successive meetings with Israeli and US delegations before his inauguration is an even bigger concern. The Communist Party of Kenya believes that the immediate and drastic change of directive is highly influenced and borne out of sheer ignorance by the President and his advisers.

Mr Ruto's remarks will have a zero-sum legal effect because they violate the position of the African Union and its Constitutive act. The Kingdom of Morocco and Western Sahara are both members of the African Union. Rather than engaging in such careless talk, Mr Ruto should be championing a peaceful conflict resolution. He should pressure the Moroccan King to give in to the referendum and immediately stop human rights violations in the occupied territories, rather than bowing to the Moroccan King.

Today's onslaught on the people of Western Sahara is a glimpse of how bankrupt Mr Ruto's foreign policy will be: prone to influence, ignorant of facts and barren of logical arguments. We want to warn Kenyans that the worst is yet to come, and they should be prepared to resist. The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) and the Kenya Western Sahara Friendship Society (KWSFS) stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Western Sahara. The people of Saharawi will succeed because their fight is just. Morocco is the predatory occupying force, and they will fail.

Long live the Saharawi People!
Long live the Polisario Front!
Long live Kenya-Western Sahara Friendship!
Down with Morocco Occupation!

About the State of Western Sahara:

The decolonisation process of Western Sahara was interrupted violently when Morocco invaded and occupied parts of the Territory by force on 31 October 1975. Since then, the Moroccan Monarch has blocked Western Sahara from exercising its inalienable right to self-determination and independence under conditions acceptable to her population. The illegal annexation of parts of Western Sahara affirms that Morocco does not exercise any sovereignty or administering power over Western Sahara.

Under the occupation, Morocco has committed massive human rights violations and repressed fundamental freedoms of Saharawi civilians in the occupied parts of the Territory, similar to the repressive and discriminatory policies pursued by the British colonialists in Kenya. Morocco has adopted a systematic, chauvinistic and genocidal policy in the Sahrawi-occupied territories intended to occupy the land coercively and exterminate its people by all means.

Moroccan authorities are involved in the disappearance of Sahrawi human rights activists, the torture of prisoners of conscience, arbitrary detention, police brutality, intimidation and extrajudicial executions. The entire occupied territories continue to be under a military siege, and a total media blackout, whilst Moroccan authorities deny the people of Western Sahara access to international media and observers.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE CUBAN FIVE: STATEMENT BY KENYA-CUBA FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY AND THE PRO-LIBERATION COMMITTEE

Booker Ngesa Omole, President - Pro-Liberation Committee of the Cuban Five Kenya

18 December 2014

The Kenya-Cuba Friendship Society (KCFS) and the Pro-liberation Committee for the Five, congratulates the Cuban Five (René González, Fernando González, and now Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero and Ramón Labañino) on the completion of their release from the United States prisons, where they were unjustly jailed in a process that took political, rather than legal path.

It is difficult to put into words the jubilant feelings that KCFS members felt (and are still feeling) when the announcement of their release was made known by the international media.

We also congratulate the families of the Five, the Government and people of Cuba, and ICAP for sustaining the campaign for the freedom of the Five, even when the chances of their release seemed impossible.

We congratulate the other Governments, the Solidarity/Friendship Associations, the Nobel laureates, celebrities, artists, lawyers & law associations, media houses & journalists, and all the organisations & individuals who tirelessly campaigned for the release of the Five.

This victory is not just a victory of the Five, but it is a victory for world justice, and a victory against global Terrorism.

We welcome the resumption of the diplomatic ties between Cuba and the U.S., and **we continue to demand for the ending of the U.S. blockade on Cuba,** which has on one hand led to

financial, economic and commercial sabotage of Cuba, and on the other hand led to the isolation of the United States on the international scene, as seen in the annual vote at the United Nations General Assembly in support of Cuba, and the ending of the Blockade.

Long live Cuba!
Long live Internationalism!
Long live Socialism!

MESSAGE ON INTERNATIONAL DAY OF AL-QUDS HELD AT SIR ALI MUSLIM CLUB NAIROBI ON 7TH OF MAY 2022

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK

7 May 2022

Down with Zionism! Up with Palestine!

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) is privileged and happy to address you today as we mark this important day. As one of the founding members of Kenya na Palestine, CPK is pleased to welcome you to the International Day of Al-Quds.

The international day of Al-Quds is an annual political protest event held to demonstrate solidarity with all the oppressed people globally and particularly the people of Palestine. As communists, the CPK has both an internationalist duty and a moral duty to be in solidarity with all the oppressed people of the world.

We can neither be ashamed of being in solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian people nor afraid to call the apartheid Israel what they are: ***the thieves of Palestinian land***. CPK recognises Palestine as a country vilified and a demonised victim turned perpetrator. We see powerful propaganda machinery sanctioned and funded by the US government, used daily to call the murdered the murderer, to call the raped the rapist.

CPK is hostile to the calculated use of violence or the threat of violence by Israelis to inculcate fear; intended to coerce and intimidate the Palestinians in the pursuit of the ultimate goal of Israelis.

Comrades and Friends,

CPK takes great exception to the ongoing media terrorism against the Palestinian people. The CNNs, BBCs, and online Zionist bloggers; these are international lie factories,

manufacturing and disseminating vicious lies against the heroic resistance of the Palestinian people.

These false reports are meant to tilt public opinion. They moralise the indiscriminate killings of innocent Palestinians by Israel's high-powered, lethal conventional fascist army.

As a result of this false coverage, the perceived morality of the killing of Palestinians downplays the cries of children now orphaned and parents mourning their children; killed in a protest to protect their motherland. This demonisation of a just struggle will never kill our spirit.

Over the last few months, the world has watched a different scene play out with how the same media framed the Ukraine-Russia war. According to the Western media, Ukrainian authorities under the leadership of USA puppet Zelensky are blameless victims, heroes valiantly defending their land. The racist coverage of the conflict is no longer a going concern, and the hypocrisy of the European refugee and immigrant crisis is now **EXPOSED**.

The matter has been presented in black and white, not considering the historical and geopolitical issues of the region. The world is expected to accept this framing as reality, and the media and the western governments have worked very hard to silence any dissenting or alternative voices on the matter. Anything progressive is censored, and media narrative rules over truth.

The position of the CPK on the matter is unequivocal. First, the CPK rejects all imperialist wars and remains in solidarity with the working people of Ukraine. We also support the legitimate security concerns of the Putin administration and the threat to the integrity of the Russian state. Usually, the CPK has been anti-EU-NATO-US hegemony, but now, particularly with the

eastward expansion of NATO. We, therefore, support any effort to deal with the Neo-Nazi movement in Ukraine once and for all, and we justify violence and military intervention against those outfits.

Imagine if the same consideration and nuance were given to the people of Palestine, who have done nothing but defend their country against the Israeli Apartheid regime? What if their valiant efforts were seen as the ordinary course of a people whose home and land are occupied and that fighting back is the natural course for them?

CPK can never be neutral in a question of an oppressor and the oppressed or the exploiter and the exploited. CPK stands with the oppressed and the exploited Palestinian people. In fact, as African people, we are from a history of resistance: resistance to colonialism, resistance to imperialism.

We acknowledge the oppression that the white settler colonialists visited upon Africa. Colonialism exploited Africa: her people were devastated, raped, robbed, and her dignity shattered. But we resisted.

Building on similarities of our struggles, just as Kenyans had to fight to reclaim their land from the British colonialists and free their prisoners from the British detention camps, so should Palestine living in an open-air prison, fight for their freedom. Palestine's only option is to use any means available to them to reclaim their dignity, fight for their right to self-determination, and their right to statehood.

Friends of Palestine,

Palestine liberation is a question of principle and not of Religion! Quds day is a day to confront the arrogant powers and demand the freedom of all oppressed people.

CPK believes, and rightly so, that however long, protracted and difficult it may be, a just struggle will ultimately triumph. Just as liberation from apartheid in South Africa was unimaginable, the apartheid Israel shall be defeated.

The liberation of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Algeria and, in fact, all anti-colonial struggles in Africa and the world triumphed because they were just! The Palestinians will triumph because they have a just course.

CPK is convinced that however powerful Israel may appear, Israel will not rob the people of Palestine of their just right to freedom and ancestral land forever. The people of Palestine will never cease to fight for their liberation. However long it takes.

Dear Militants

For those, especially here in Kenya, who think that the war between Israel and Palestine has nothing to do with Kenya, we must remember that if we genuinely love freedom, peace and uphold our morals, the right of all nations, big and small to self-determination must be upheld.

Kenyans, especially through our government, must act, condemn and isolate Israel and its imperialist collaborators. Kenya must recognise and offer moral and material support to the people of Palestine in their just war of liberation from Israel.

We take this chance to commend and recognise the efforts of the President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta, who met his promise to welcome the Palestinian Embassy in Nairobi. We have seen an about-turn in Kenyan's foreign policy for the first time, save for the goof on Ukraine-Russia conflict.

We also acknowledge that the Uhuru Kenyatta government has supported the efforts of the people of Western Sahara, who continue to struggle for the liberation of their country that is under occupation by the brutal Kingdom of Morocco. Thanks to

his progressive foreign policy, now we enjoy deeper relations with the heroic people of Cuba.

CPK, who founded the Kenya Western Sahara friendship society to protest the occupation of Western Sahara, stands with her people. We believe that Western Sahara will be liberated one day despite the propaganda war.

All the moves and efforts by the government to recognise their struggle and support them diplomatically and recognise their cause officially are indeed noteworthy and have been added to the win column of resistance!

My Comrades,

While we have seen some support from the Uhuru Kenyatta government, we worry for the future of Kenya's support for the People of Palestine. The actions and messages from the leading presidential candidates show that both William Ruto and Raila Odinga have been palling around apartheid Israel. Nothing can be further from the truth; the duo wants to sell out the course of the Palestinian people in return for alms from the terrorist state of Israel. They are desperate to get campaign money and are willing to compromise it all! Shame on them!

This worrying trend becomes even more disturbing when you learn that countries like Uganda and Rwanda have made their threat real. Both countries have been warming up to Israel; Museveni and Kagame, known tyrants, have no qualms accepting African 'refugees' from Israel for a fee. Funnelling the racist Israeli policy against people of colour.

We still wonder why any African Nation would be willing to collaborate with Israel, especially in light of the fact that Israel is forcefully deporting African refugees back to Africa. We reject the Israel observer status at the African Union, and all

progressive people should continue to condemn any deal with Israel.

We condemn these countries not for their offer to host but because we know the decision to take in the refugees is solely based on the economic benefits they hope to reap from international humanitarian bodies.

We urge all Kenyans to be on their guard, so we are not led down the same path.

Fellow defenders of peace,

The marking of Al-Quds day opposes Israel's over 70 years of colonisation and oppression of the Palestine People.

Having a Forum such as this allows us to state our stand as CPK and show continued support for the struggle of the people of Palestine.

We will not tire of exposing the double standards of the media in covering the struggle of the people of Palestine and exposing the looming threat of a pro-Israel regime that could cut back on the gains made in the struggle.

Although this is an annual event, there is a need for action to build an anti-Zionist movement at a global scale.

CPK still believes that it is not enough for Kenya, the African Union or the majority of the members of the United Nations to pass and support resolutions against Israel's colonialism and fascism against Palestinians.

We reiterate that the question of the Palestine situation is not a religious debate but must be extended to national and international debates in our geopolitics.

Actions must speak louder than words. It is time for leaders to walk the talk.

Finally, Comrades,

The Communist Party of Kenya supports the total liberation of Palestine.

The two states' solution proposed by some nations and people is as reactionary as illogical. Just as Africa could not allow white South Africans to curve their country inside South Africa, it is unacceptable for Israel to curve an Israeli state inside Palestine.

Palestine must be liberated. The CPK will always be in solidarity with the people of Palestine.

Long live the national liberation struggle of the people of Palestine!

Forward to the world free from oppression! – Forward!
Forward to the world free from exploitation! – Forward!
Forward to the world free from Discrimination! – Forward!
Death to Zionism! – Death!
Death to imperialism! – Death!
From Land to the Sea, Palestine shall be Free.
Aluta Continua!

REQUEST FOR SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
15 July 2019

To all members of Africa Left Network Forum (ALNEF),

On behalf of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) and the Kenya-Cuba Friendship Society (KCFS) I send you revolutionary greetings from Nairobi!

I write to you this special message to request you to intensify our solidarity with Cuba and the Cuban revolution even while I believe most of you are already doing so in your countries.

As you are aware, USA imperialism has tightened its economic, commercial and financial blockade against Cuba that is aimed at strangling the friendly, peaceful and revolutionary country in all ways. President Donald Trump and his neofascist regime have introduced even more brutal anti-Cuba laws aimed at violating Cuba's national sovereignty and socialism. It is in fact a war against a peaceful and independent United Nations member state and nation and a blatant violation of the human rights of the entire people of Cuba.

All of us remember that the brutal blockade has been imposed against Cuba for 60 years hitherto. It has of course not succeeded to make the people of the resilient and revolutionary nation surrender their freedom, dignity, their socialist way of life, and their development path away from capitalism and imperialism. Nevertheless, the unjustified blockade has caused and continues to cause great damage and difficulties of all sorts to the government and people of Cuba and to socialism.

Amidst all this, Cuba's socialist internationalism has always existed and never ended. We are all grateful for Cuba's solidarity to our African continent which continues today in many forms in our various countries. It is for this reason, among others, that we

appeal to you fellow members of ALNEF to use all means possible to extend solidarity in all ways at your disposal to Cuba at this time when it needs it more than ever before.

CPK requests all ALNEF members to write to the US Embassy in your countries condemning the blockade against Cuba and calling for its immediate end! Call upon your governments, irrespective of their ideologies, in the name of peace, justice and the right of all nations to freedom and national sovereignty to demand that the US ceases its hostility against Cuba and ends the blockade! In the name of human rights, we request all member parties of ALNEF to request the UN, African Union and the civil society in your countries to condemn the violations of human rights perpetrated by the US blockade.

Lastly, CPK requests all members of ALNEF and solidarity with Cuba organizations in your countries to attend the Africa solidarity with Cuba organization's meeting that will take place in Abuja, Nigeria in September this year. In Abuja we shall discuss our common resolution as Africans on our solidarity with Cuba including concrete action plans. Cuba deserves African solidarity for they are our blood relatives and socialist comrades at arms in the anti-imperialism war and for socialism.

I humbly beg your indulgence as I believe that you are already all supporting Cuba in one way or another in your countries. This just to emphasise our common position as Africans and ALNEF. CPK will reiterate the same message on behalf of ALNEF at Caracas, Venezuela, during the São Paulo Forum starting on 25th July 2019.

In the name of ALNEF and Socialist Internationalism I salute all of you wherever you are in our African continent!

Long live friendship and Solidarity with Cuba and Cuba socialist revolution!

ISRAEL ATTACKS ON GAZA: STATEMENT OF PROTEST

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
25 July 2014

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) condemns in the strongest terms possible the on-going Israeli attacks on Gaza (to date Israel has killed over 700 Palestinians including children).

As we speak, shellfire has killed a further 15 people and more than 200 have been injured in an attack on a UN run school used as a shelter in Gaza. It is very clear now that the Israeli attacks are no longer about 'defending' itself and destroying the tunnels but about exterminating the Palestinian people.

We are in solidarity with a statement by eminent civil society activists on 22 July, 2014 in Palestine who have said:

> *"What we are witnessing is the intended genocide of 1.8 million Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip, we call for a ceasefire with Israel only if conditioned on an end to the blockade and the restoration of basic freedoms that have been denied to the people for more than seven years. Our foremost concerns are not only the health and safety of the people in our communities, but also the quality of their lives—their ability to live free of fear of imprisonment without due process, to support their families through gainful employment, and to travel to visit their relatives and further their education. These are fundamental human aspirations that have been severely limited for the Palestinian people for more than 47 years, but that have been particularly deprived from residents of Gaza since 2007. We have been pushed beyond the limits of what a normal person can be expected to endure.*
>
> *"A living death: charges in the media and by politicians of various stripes that accuse Hamas of ordering Gaza residents to resist evacuation orders, and thus use them as human shields, are untrue. With temporary shelters full and the indiscriminate Israeli shelling, there is literally no place that is safe in Gaza.*

"Likewise, Hamas represented the sentiment of the vast majority of residents when it rejected the unilateral ceasefire proposed by Egypt and Israel without consulting anyone in Gaza. We share the broadly held public sentiment that it is unacceptable to merely return to the status quo—in which Israel strictly limits travel in and out of the Gaza Strip, controls the supplies that come in (including a ban on most construction materials), and prohibits virtually all exports, thus crippling the economy and triggering one of the highest poverty and unemployment rates in the Arab world.

"To do so would mean a return to a living death.

"Unfortunately, past experience has shown that the Israeli government repeatedly reneges on promises for further negotiations, as well as on its commitments to reform. Likewise, the international community has demonstrated no political will to enforce these pledges. Therefore, we call for a ceasefire only when negotiated conditions result in the following:

- *Freedom of movement of Palestinians in and out of the Gaza Strip.*
- *Unlimited import and export of supplies and goods, including by land, sea and air.*
- *Unrestricted use of the Gaza seaport.*
- *Monitoring and enforcement of these agreements by a body appointed by the United Nations, with appropriate security measures.*

"Each of these expectations is taken for granted by most countries, and it is time for the Palestinians of Gaza to be accorded the human rights they deserve".

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) on its part calls on the Kenya Government to immediately expel the Israeli Ambassador from Kenya and recall Kenya's Ambassador from Tel Aviv as well as impose broad-based **Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel**.

These demands are made with the intention of sending a clear message to Israel that its current and on-going attacks in the Palestinian Gaza Strip—which have resulted in the killing of over

700 Palestinians including 150 children, in 2 weeks—are unacceptable and must cease immediately.

The Kenya Government must show leadership and take decisive action. It is time for the Kenya Government to join the progressive countries and leaders of the world. It is time to send a clear message to Israel that its violations of international law and what it is doing in the Palestinian Gaza Strip is unacceptable. Expelling the Israeli Ambassador would be a start and will send a moral message to the Government of Israel.

JOINT STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA AND KENYA-CUBA FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY ON THE LATEST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK

12 July 2021

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) and Kenya-Cuba Friendship Society (KCFS) condemns in the strongest terms the ongoing attempts by US sponsored individuals who are attempting to stir discontent and destabilisation in Cuba, in a continuation of hostilities against the island nation since its proclamation of the socialist revolution in 1959.

It must be recalled that in his final days, the former US President Donald Trump introduced a raft of additional restrictions against Cuba as a continuation of the murderous Blockade on Cuba. This was done right in the middle of a global pandemic!

We must also recall that funding for anti-Cuba dissident groups in the US has been on the increase in the past three years.

We applaud the masses of Cuba for trusting in and building the Cuban revolution even in the face of the worst challenges that have been imposed on them by the US blockade. We also applaud the Cuban scientists, who even in the midst of the blockade, have managed to develop their own COVID-19 vaccines whose safety standards are higher than some of those that have been developed in the western countries. We also honour Cuba for the solidarity that it has shown and continues to express to Africa and developing and developed countries in these pandemic times,

even as it works to overcome its own COVID-19 challenges at home.

Indeed, and as President Miguel Diaz-Canel has noted, Cuba, just like all countries of the world, has faced immense challenges arising out of the corona virus pandemic. This is exacerbated by the fact that Cuba's socialist system has increased the life expectancy of its population to over 80 years—an aging population that is disproportionately targeted by the virus.

It is however extremely unfortunate (though not unexpected) that the US has taken advantage of the challenges arising out of the blockade and the corona virus pandemic to stir destabilisation in Cuba. This has been made even more clear by the fact that the US President Joe Biden has expressed full support to those attempting to promote dissent in Cuba.

We in Kenya, CPK and KCFS condemn in the strongest terms the US destabilisation attempts on Cuba, we demand that the United States end its illegal economic, financial and commercial blockade on Cuba, and we stand in full solidarity with the leadership of Cuba, as led by President Miguel Diaz-Canel, the Communist Party of Cuba and the revolutionary people of Cuba.

Viva the Cuban Socialist revolution!
Down with US imperialism Down!
Aluta continua! vitoria e certa!

LETTER TO PRESIDENT BARRACK OBAMA: RELEASE THE THREE REMAINING CUBAN FIVE FROM YOUR PRISONS TODAY!

Booker Ngesa Omole, President - Pro-Liberation Committee of the Cuban Five Kenya
9 June 2014

Dear President Obama,

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) and the Kenya-Cuba Friendship Society (KCFS) would again like to join the clamor expressed by a large number of people throughout the world; artists, intellectuals, parliamentarians, jurists and people of good will, who expect from you a decision of elemental justice. As a matter of fact, we have sent similar petitions every year since you were elected President of the US. We had great expectations that you would do the right thing in this regard, especially taking into account your status as Nobel Peace Prize Laureate. Unfortunately, you have disappointed us hitherto. Nevertheless, as we have always promised, we will not get tired of sending this petition to you and your government until all the Cuban Five are out of prison and return to their country.

Three of the Cuban Five are still unjustly held in prisons in your country, for trying to protect Cuba from terrorist acts planned from U.S. territory. We are sure you are aware that Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez, Hernández Nordelo and Ramón Labañino Salazar have been convicted by U.S. authorities, falsely accused of conspiring against the United States, while in reality they actually infiltrated admittedly terrorist organizations, who have repeatedly attacked Cuba and Cuban citizens both inside and outside Cuban territory. I'm sure that you know about these cases. You should not be seen to endorse the continuity of the terrorist attacks suffered by Cuba, performed by sinister

characters as Luis Posada Carriles. We believe that you also understand that each country has the legitimate right to protect itself from such barbarous crimes.

Before you finish your term as President of US, people of your fatherland, Kenya, expect you to pursue the normalization of relations with Cuba, inspired by the principle of the right of all nations to self-determination. The release of these three Cuban patriots would be a great gesture in that direction. The over 50 years hostility shown by your government against Cuba simply because Cuba chose the path of socialism and anti-imperialism is not only an unjustified, violation of human rights and international norms but has also not worked, and is condemned by nearly all member countries of the United Nations. Besides, Cuba does not interfere with the internal affairs of the US. It has neither imposed socialism upon your country nor undermined the leadership. Why then should the US government continue to impose the most brutal economic, financial and commercial blockade against Cuba just because the country is practicing the system chosen by its people? Isn't it not time for the US to stop undermining Cuba, its people and leadership and instead normalize relations with your neighbor. Remember, Mr. Obama, history will condemn you if you finish your term as President without taking the courage to do the right thing: releasing the Cuban Five and normalizing relations with Cuba.

We are sure that you and your government know that Kenya has suffered and continues to suffer from terrorism. You are also informed that tourism is also an important sector of the economy of our country like that of Cuba. Kenyans can therefore not support terrorism anywhere in the world. Nothing can justify such a heinous crime against humanity. In fact, we expect the US to support Kenya for being victim of terrorism rather than the

present practice of undermining its economy by imposing unfair and unjustified travel advisories. For the same reason we are concerned that the three Cuban Five, who were dedicated to exposing terrorism and safeguarding the lives of innocent people, Cubans, Americans and the world continue to suffer imprisonment for the noble task they undertook for humanity.

Again, you must be aware that as people from a country that have known the pain of arbitrary arrests, torture, political imprisonments and violations of human rights, we appreciate the plight of the three Cuban Five still in your prisons and share with them what they and their families are undergoing. Even while we are calling for their release, we also demand their right as prisoners to be visited by their families, relatives and friends without the inhibitions the prison authorities often impose.

Finally, we repeat: please, Mr. Obama, do not finish your term as President before doing the decent thing; release Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez, Hernández Nordelo and Ramón Labañino Salazar to their families, Cuba and the world! End the fifty year's old brutal and unjustified financial, commercial and economic blockade the US continues to impose against Cuba that is tantamount to planned genocide upon the citizens of the country!

QUDS DAY: STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP
8 July 2015

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) is in solidarity with all people in the world that are struggling against colonialism and imperialism and for social and national liberation. This includes the people of Palestine that are struggling against the Israel fascist regime, occupation and for their right to nationhood and self-determination that includes liberation of their country that is illegally occupied and held by Israel. Indeed, this is our internationalist's duty as a socialist party but also as human beings that we have always held and expressed in Kenya, Africa and in international forums.

Furthermore, we believe and rightly so, that however long, protracted and difficulty it may be a just struggle will ultimately triumph. Who knew South Africa will ever be liberated from apartheid that was not only based on the strongest capitalism in the African continent but also on world imperialism? The same can be said of the struggle for national liberation of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and, in fact, all anti-colonial struggles in Africa and the world. The people of East Timor painfully struggled for many decades for their liberation from the gigantic fascist regime of Indonesia that had occupied their country and committed gross violations of the human rights of the colonised people, including genocides. However, the resilient patriots of East Timor ultimately liberated their country and are now free to express their national sovereignty and independence.

Today, Western Sahara which is occupied by the brutal Kingdom of Morocco is the last colony in Africa. The gallant people of Western Sahara led by the POLISARIO FRONT continue to struggle for the liberation of their country in one of the harshest human and natural conditions in the world. SDP believes that Western Sahara will be liberated one day despite the propaganda and war that the Morocco brutal regime and its allies continue to perpetrate against the people.

Similarly, however powerful it appears, Israel will not rob the people of Palestine of their just right to freedom and ancestral land for ever. The people of Palestine will never cease to fight for their liberation however long it takes. Fortunately, there is no just cause in the world that is as famous as that of the people of Palestine. Unfortunately also, there are also no people who have suffered and continue to suffer today under Israel and United States of America as the people of Palestine. SDP has always maintained that it is not enough for Kenya, African Union and majority of the members of United Nations to pass and support resolutions against Israel's colonialism and fascism against Palestinians. Action speaks louder than words. Kenya and other nations that genuinely love freedom, peace and the right of all nations big and small to self-determination must act to condemn and isolate Israel and its imperialist collaborators. They must recognise and offer moral and material support to the people of Palestine in their just war of liberation from Israel.

Finally, SDP supports the total liberation of Palestine. The two states solution proposed by some nations and people is as reactionary as it is illogical. Just as Africa and the world could not allow white South Africans who colonised South Africa from Europe several centuries ago to curve their own nation inside South Africa, it is unacceptable for Israel which was made in

Palestine only a few decades ago to curve Israel inside Palestine. Palestine must be totally liberated, Israel dissolved to allow the people of Palestine of Arab origin and the people of Israel of Jewish origin to live together peacefully in a democratic country called PALESTINE. The SDP will always be in solidarity with the people of Palestine.

Long live the national liberation struggle of the people of Palestine!
Long live international solidarity with the people of Palestine!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA DEMANDS THE END OF SANCTIONS AGAINST DPR KOREA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP; Executive Committee member - ALNEF

14 March 2016

The United Nations, through the instigation of the US and its allies including Japan and South Korea, has imposed brutal and unjust sanctions against the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK) ostensibly for violating international agreements concerning nuclear weapons. Yet it is not the DPRK that is creating a threat to peace in the Korean Peninsula and the world, but the US, which has aways militarily threatened the DPRK with annihilation. The DPRK not only has a right to develop and own nuclear weapons as long as the US and other nations also develop and own the weapons of mass destruction, but the communist country has also clearly stated that its nuclear weapons are in the Korean peninsula only to deter an American attack, which has remained the threat to the peace and security of the region since it was defeated militarily by the revolutionary army of North Korea under the legendary leader of Korea and world socialism, comrade Kim Il Sung.

As Christopher Black, a prominent international lawyer based in Toronto, Canada argues:

> *"The fact that the Russian and Chinese have joined the US in this instead of calling for sanctions against the US for its threats against the DPRK and its new military exercises which are a clear and present danger to the DPRK is shameful. If the Russians and Chinese are sincere, why don't they insist that the US draw down its forces so the DPRK feels less threatened and take steps to guarantee the security of the DPRK? They do not explain their actions but their actions make them collaborators with the US against the DPRK."*

The SDP, in exercise of its socialist internationalist obligation, condemns in no uncertain terms the unjustified sanctions against the DPRK instigated by imperialism and legalised by the United Nations that is often times used to impose the will of imperialism and big powers. We are aware that the US has never stopped its cold and hot war against the DPRK; through one of the greatest patriotic, heroic and revolutionary, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist national liberation armed struggles, the DPRK succeeded in winning true independence in the northern half of Korea. When it invaded Korea, US imperialism, like Japanese colonialism earlier, suffered one of the most humiliating military defeats it will never forget in its reactionary history. We also know that the US and its allies hate the DPRK with a venom for refusing to be a puppet of imperialism like South Korea and for asserting its right to determine its own destiny along Juche socialism. Dirty false propaganda war is wedged against the DPRK for refusing the capitalist and neo-colonial path of slavery, under-development and exploitation of person by person and instead choosing the path of development for freedom and humanity, socialism.

We in Kenya and Africa struggling against capitalism and imperialism and for nations and societies without exploitation of person by person will not accept to be cheated by imperialists who have always been part and parcel of the root causes of Africa's problems. Neither will we accept to be fooled by imperialist propaganda disseminated everyday by the Western media aimed at shaping our world view in line with imperialism. For imperialism is not and has never been a friend of Africa, but its enemy. African patriots and revolutionaries will never allow imperialism to tell us who our friends are. We know who our friends are. And North Korea has always been Africa's true

friend. When the whole of the African continent was under Western colonialism, Korea under the revolutionary leadership of comrade Kim Il Sung was fighting Japanese colonialism and showing solidarity with Africa at the same time. After it drove away Japanese colonialism and US imperialism, the DPRK, in the name of socialist internationalism, increased its moral, military and other material support to African countries in their struggle for liberation from colonialism, imperialism and apartheid. Immediately after independence from colonialism in the 1960s, thousands of Africans, including Kenyans, received free higher, technical and specialised education in the DPRK. The DPRK not only offered arms, finance and other material solidarity to Namibia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique in the war against apartheid and imperialism, but it also actually sent internationalist revolutionaries in Africa to fight side by side with Africans for Africa. The DPRK fought with Egypt and Africa during the 1967 war against the brutal Zionist regime of Israel supported by Western countries. Today, the DPRK is together with African countries in the demand for a new just international order. In this, the DPRK is blamed by imperialism and imperialist puppet regimes in the world for being in the forefront and showing by its own example that a new just international order cannot be but anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism, it must be socialist. The DPRK is in fact an example to be followed by all people and nations struggling for freedom, independence and for societies, nations and world without exploitation and oppression of person by person and nation by nation. The DPRK is a world symbol or resistance to the reactionary capitalist and imperialist ideologies and systems that exists in order for a few people, families and nations to continue

to exploit, oppress, enslave and plunder the majority of human beings and to threaten the very existence of the earth.

But most of all, the DPRK is regarded to be the greatest enemy of imperialism, particularly the US, for being a true independent country politically, culturally, economically, ideologically, militarily and a nuclear power capable of defending her independence from any foreign military invasion. Unlike the US and its allies, the DPRK has never used its military power to invade, dominate and destroy other countries and to plunder their natural resources. Also neither, unlike the US and its imperialist allies, has the DPRK ever initiated and sponsored terrorism and terrorist organisations anywhere in the world. And yes, if the West and other countries including Zionist Israel have nuclear weapons, why not the DPRK? We the SDP demand that all countries in the world must not develop or possess weapons of mass destruction including nuclear weapons. Only then can there be legitimate justification for imposing sanctions against the DPRK, or any other nations at that, for possessing nuclear weapons today.

Finally, SDP demands that the Kenyan and African governments condemn the unjustified sanctions against the DPRK and further demand for the immediate and unconditional end of the sanctions.

Long live the DPRK!
Long live anti-imperialist solidarity!
Long live socialism!

STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SUDAN, AND CONDEMNATION OF POLITICAL SUPPRESSION BEING CARRIED OUT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP

25 September 2014

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) is alarmed by the ongoing Political Suppression that has been, and is being perpetuated by the Government of Sudan.

We remind the Government of President Omar El Bashir that the era of dictatorship and political repression by the State is long gone, and is not acceptable on the African continent, and in the world at large.

We hereby demand that the all the Political detainees, including the ones listed below, be released immediately, and we also demand that the Government of Sudan be accountable to the Human Rights, and Political Rights of the people of Sudan.

The people of Sudan have a right to join, support, demonstrate, participate and vote for Political Parties of their choice.

We call upon the progressive and revolutionary Political Parties and organisations in Kenya and throughout the world to condemn the despotism being practised in Sudan, and to pile pressure on the Government of Sudan to open up the democratic space in that country.

List of the Political Detainees and Dates of their Arrest

1 Khalid Toum	20/09/2014
2 Mohamed Abdel Moneim	20/09/2014
3 Iqbal Abdullah	20/09/2014
4 Nasreen Aleesh	22/09/2014
5 Widad Abdul Rahman Darwish	22/09/2014
6 Ashraf Ahmed Mahasa	22/09/2014
7 Akram Ashraf Mahasa	22/09/2014
8 Amna Osman	22/09/2014
9 Alaajp Abdul Rahman	22/09/2014
10 Rashid Abdul Wahab	22/09/2014
11 latency Mohammed Adam	22/09/2014
12 Isa Mohammed Zain	22/09/2014
13 Ibrahim Saleh Ibrahim	22/09/2014
14 Fayza Nogud	22/09/2014
15 Fatima Sheikh	22/09/2014
16 Mirghani Ataalmannan	22/09/2014
17 Mohammed Abdalmamn cherished	22/09/2014
18 D / Ahmed Hamed Mahmoud	22/09/2014
19 Ibrahim Almtabjy	22/09/2014
20 Khaled Hamza	22/09/2014
21 Omar Badawi	22/09/2014
22 Nabil Mohamed Osman	22/09/2014
23 Raja Mohammed Khalil	23/09/2014
24 Hussein	23/09/2014
25 Faten Toum	23/09/2014
26 Alaa quail	23/09/2014
27 Mohammed Abadi	23/09/2014
28 Azadhamd	23/09/2014
29 Atef Mohammed Yusuf	23/09/2014
30 Moataz Tijani	23/09/2014
31 Ahmed Abdulrahman	23/09/2014
32 Haj Sheikh Idriss	23/09/2014
33 Moataz happy	20/09/2014
34 Mohiuddin Abuaaqlh	20/09/2014
35 Rashid Abbas	23/09/2014

STATEMENT: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MUST KEEP OFF THE AFFAIRS OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA!

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK
24 January 2019

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) condemns in the strongest terms the recent attempts by the diabolic United States of America (USA) Government led by Donald Trump to 'appoint' a president for Venezuela. These recent moves by the USA not only amount to illegal interference that is contrary to international law and practice, but is also a declaration of war by the USA upon the sovereign Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

What we are witnessing is an attempt by the imperialist USA to re-create what it used to do in Latin America in the last century, that is, to invade the countries and overthrow democratically elected Governments and replace them with puppet dictators appointed from Washington.

When we see the USA Government threatening to resist the expulsion of their diplomats by a sovereign Country, then the whole world, not just the progressive citizens of the world, must stand up against such violation of international law. The world cannot sit and remain silent and watch while the Hitler of the 21st Century is being born to plunge humanity into a Third World War that may destroy our planet!

The CPK firmly supports the revolutionary masses of Venezuela, and the Venezuelan Government under the leadership of President Nicholas Maduro. The CPK condemns the attempts by the USA, through their puppet Juan Guaido to subvert the popular will of the Venezuelan people and to take Venezuela back to US domination and bondage.

The CPK calls on the Kenyan Government under the leadership of President Uhuru Kenyatta to come out and condemn the criminal acts by the regime of Donald Trump, and to express support to the People, Government and President of Venezuela. The CPK further calls upon the African Union, to strongly condemn this violation of international law by the USA. We cannot forget that some of Africa's best political leaders, including Kwame Nkurmah, Patrice Lumumba, Modibo Keita, Samora Machel, Thomas Sankara, Felix Moumie, Muamar Gaddafi and others were overthrown/assassinated directly or at the behest of the Colonialist/Imperialist countries. Indeed, the actions of the USA in Venezuela are a direct threat to peace and democracy in Africa and the world in general.

The world must act to support the right of the people of Venezuela to national sovereignty and self-determination.

The Government of Venezuela must act firmly and with speed against the traitors of Venezuela who are puppets of the USA, and make them answerable to their heinous and treasonable behaviour.

Long live the Sovereignty of Venezuela!
Long live the Spirit of Hugo Chavez!
Away with the Traitors of Venezuela!
Down with USA Imperialism Down!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA WAS PART OF THE AFRICAN OBSERVER MISSION TO VENEZUELAN 2020 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK
10 December 2020

Election at the Service of the Masses

The Communist Party of Kenya can assert that the Venezuelan electoral system has a lot to offer for the people of the world. An election used as a tool for participatory democracy away from over-publicized western democracies that only help to consolidate power in the hands of a few rich criminals. The election process was made simple and obvious, making it easy for the masses to participate. The United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV) government, under the leadership of President Nicholas Maduro, has had tremendous success in the front of political education and organizing. The literacy program has been helpful to the Venezuelan population to effectively use the election process to exercise people's popular power. The resounding victory of the PSUV by winning 253 out of the 277 was a vote of confidence on the Bolivarian Socialist project and a humiliation to the far-right fundamentalists led by the western puppet Juan Guido.

The process was inclusive and diverse. Both the indigenous population and the afro-descendent people had their right of representation supported by the Bolivarian Socialist project.

Venezuelan Election Held amid-USA Aggression

The election was held in the context of a country besieged by the criminal blockade imposed by the government of the United States and by permanent threats of intervention by the leading military power of the world. Since the Venezuelan people elected

Comandante Hugo Chavez as President of the Republic on December 6, 1998, the United States developed a strategic doctrine that has dominated relations between the two countries ever since. This doctrine of "regime change," has led to coups d'états, financing of the terrorist opposition, attempts at assassination of the President and the imposition of a parallel government, and periodic launching of a mercenary invasion. All of these actions constitute a massive violation of the human rights of the Venezuelan people and a flagrant transgression of international law

The Election System Audit as a Guarantee of Transparency

The election was subjected to more than ten audits. This was conducted one day to voting, during, and after the vote in order to validate each of the key processes of the electoral system, which allows certifying its quality and invulnerability. In these audits, technicians of the National Electoral Council (CNE) participated directly, together with representatives of all the political parties, national and international experts, African delegations, independent observers, and the citizens themselves. The Communist Party of Kenya was pleased with this high level of transparency. The technology delivered with simplicity the possibility of the Venezuelan people to exercise their right to vote. The entire voting act was in accordance with the biosecurity protocols required for the prevention of COVID-19

The Venezuelan electoral system is solid and sound with an automated system that has been refined and strengthened during the Bolivarian Revolution. The results released by the National Electoral Council was a faithful reflection of the free will of Venezuelan voters. The Communist Party of Kenya highly recommends the Kenyan Government to benchmark their system with the Venezuelan system instead of traveling to those

backward capitalist democracies that have designed opaque systems to help them usurp peoples' power.

The Aggression Against the People of Venezuela

The Venezuelan people have resisted with dignity and firmness the imperial aggression of the blockade and the so-called sanctions, which have intensified during the COVID-19 pandemic. See below an extract from the UN rapporteur report 2020.

> *"The United States has imposed sanctions against Venezuela since 2015.*
>
> *"A 2014 U.S. law led to sanctions against Venezuelan officials and foreign policy. In 2017, the United States denounced the election of a Constituent Assembly in Venezuela as illegitimate and imposed sanctions against the government and its entities. In 2018, after Venezuelan presidential elections, the United States tightened its sanctions against the government, citing economic mismanagement, corruption, repression of political opponents, and efforts to undermine democracy. In January 2019, after recognizing the newly elected President of the National Assembly as Venezuela's interim President, the United States imposed further sanctions against PDVSA, the Venezuelan Central Bank and key government officials, and it imposed a total economic embargo in August 2019.*
>
> *"The European Union imposed sanctions against Venezuela in 2017, including an arms embargo, a ban on exports of other goods that might be used for internal repression, a ban on exports of technology and material made for telecommunications monitoring or interception, and travel bans and asset freezes on individuals. It was also reported that $1.2 billion in Venezuela Government funds have been frozen by a Portuguese bank in 2019. Nearly $2 billion in gold owned by the Central Bank of Venezuela and held in the Bank of England is also frozen as a case proceeds in British courts. In 2017 and 2018, Canada froze assets and banned dealings in the property of Venezuelan officials. In 2019, thirteen of the fourteen Lima Group countries agreed to ban Venezuelan officials' entry and deny them access to their financial systems. Also, in 2019, a majority of parties to the Rio Treaty*

approved a resolution allowing targeted sanctions, including asset freezes against Venezuelan officials."

The Kenya Venezuela Solidarity Committee and the Communist Party of Kenya will remain in solidarity with the people, government and President of Venezuela, comrade Maduro, as they struggle to build the Bolivarian revolution. We condemn US imperialism and its allies that are using all means possible, including brutal and unjust sanctions against the Bolivarian Republic. The imperialist counter-revolutionary war against Venezuela will never succeed in defeating the popular democracy and mass revolution of the Bolivarian revolution. This was proved by the results of the free, fair and participatory elections that the Communist Party of Kenya, African and world political parties and organizations observed.

THE WORLD AGAIN DEMANDS THAT THE UNITED STATES END ITS BLOCKADE OF CUBA

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP

October 2014

> *"The United Nations General Assembly overwhelmingly approved, for the twenty-third time, on Tuesday October 27, a resolution presented by Cuba calling on the United States to end the blockade it has imposed on the island since 1962.*
>
> *"The U.N. plenary of 193 member nations supported the proposed resolution entitled 'The necessity of putting an end to the economic, commercial, financial blockade imposed by the United States on Cuba' by a vote of 188 in favour, with two (U.S. & Israel) against and three abstentions.*
>
> *"Since 1992, the General Assembly has demanded that the U.S. end its hostile policy toward Cuba which has been implemented by 11 consecutive administrations, and has cost Cuba's economy an estimated 1.1 trillion dollars. The human suffering caused is incalculable."*

The SDP congratulates all the countries for the continued support towards the ending of the inhumane blockade on Cuba, a vote which continues to expose the contempt that the U.S. government has towards the U.N. and all other countries.

This vote also reiterates the fact the U.N. should be restructured in such a way that its resolutions can be respected by all countries, including the U.S. It is a mockery that countries can continue, year in year out, to make resolutions at the U.N. General Assembly, only for them to be trashed by the U.S.

The U.N. must take the responsibility of promoting world peace and equality of Nations seriously, even if it means interrogating the U.N. Security Council and other decision-making organs, and how to implement the near unanimous decisions made by the U.N. member countries.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA CONDEMNS THE ECONOMIC WAR ON VENEZUELA BY THE IMPERIALIST UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK
10 August 2019

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) condemns in the strongest terms the recent escalation of sanctions by the United States of America on the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

The latest round of sanctions seek to freeze all the property and assets of the Venezuelan Government in the United States, and also to criminalise transactions with Venezuelan entities. This in other words means that the United States has decided to steal/rob the property and assets of the people of Venezuela for the period of these sanctions, and also to impose an economic, commercial and financial blockade against the Republic and People of Venezuela.

The CPK is confident that the same way that the previous sanctions failed in their intention, that is, to force the elected Government of President Nicholas Maduro into surrender, is the same way that these latest sanctions will end up, in utter failure.

The sanctions are proof of the superiority of the socialist system over capitalism. This is the true reason why the United States of America has always resisted any attempts by the people of Latin America, Africa and elsewhere in building socialism in their societies. Indeed, if socialism was inferior, the United States would not concentrate all its efforts on imposing sanctions, destabilising governments and declaring/pursuing wars on countries that chose/choose the socialist path.

The imposition of these sanctions on Venezuela is against international law, and the sanctions are meant to worsen the

economic situation in Venezuela, a situation that was created by the United States in the first place.

This is why the CPK is calling on all organisations and governments that believe in international rule of law and international peace to strongly condemn these unilateral acts by President Donald Trump and his regime, and to express open solidarity with the people and the government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Long live the Building of Socialism in Venezuela!
Down with Imperialism and Imperialist Sanctions!
Forward to the Triumph of the Revolutionary People of Venezuela!
Full Solidarity with His Excellency President Nicholas Maduro!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA CONDEMNS THE COUP ATTEMPT IN VENEZUELA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP
17 February 2015

SDP condemns in no uncertain terms the 12th February coup attempted against the democratically elected Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. The coup attempt that was foiled by the patriotic and progressive army of Venezuela that stood firmly with President Nicolas Maduro was coordinated by Venezuela's right-wing opposition with the support of the U.S. Government.

This is not the first time the traitorous right-wing forces have used violent means with the support of the US in futile but damaging efforts to overthrow the revolution in order to restore the capitalist and neo-colonial order in the country. In fact, just the day before the revelations of the coup attempt, opposition leaders Leopoldo Lopez, Maria Corina Machado and Antonio Ledezma released a "transition plan" which involved privatization of the country's oil, deregulation of the economy and accords with "international financial institutions" including the International Monetary Fund. In other words, the coup attempt aimed at overthrowing socialism and restoring neoliberalism in Venezuela.

SDP is in solidarity with President Maduro, his Government and people as they defend and consolidate their revolution, which also belongs to the poor and oppressed of Latin America and the world. The United Nations must condemn the United States Government for the blatant violations of the principles of the world institution of safeguarding peace, security and the right of all nations to sovereignty and self-determination. For this

heinous crime against a member state, the UN must impose sanctions against the US or continue losing credibility. Nations of the world too that believe in peace and democracy must condemn the coup attempt and the shameful acts of the US.

We call upon all Kenyans and members of Africa Left Network Forum (ALNEF) to join us in condemning the coup attempt.

Long live President Maduro and the Bolivarian Government of Venezuela!
Long live socialism and socialist internationalism!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA CONDEMNS THE VIOLENCE ORGANIZED AND CARRIED OUT BY THE RIGHT-WING FORCES AGAINST THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF VENEZUELA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP
February 2014

On Wednesday, February 12, 2014, the right wing and neo-fascist forces organized and carried out a demonstration in the streets of the capital city of Venezuela, Caracas. The demonstration was against the democratically elected President Nicolas Maduro. The participants of the demonstration were composed of counterrevolutionary forces who are opposed to the socialist policies being implemented by the socialist government of comrade Maduro. Given the fact that the Bolivarian revolutionary government respects and exercises the rule of law, democracy and human rights, it allowed the demonstration to take place unhindered by the security forces.

However, the right-wing demonstrators violated the principle of the right and obligations of peaceful demonstration. Apart from false and vile propaganda against the government, they also resorted to acts of violence and terror that caused the death of three people. SDP condemns these inhuman and undemocratic acts of the right-wing forces of Venezuela that are being encouraged by imperialism that seeks to restore the old order of neocolonialism and unbridled capitalism in Venezuela. The right wing lost to President Maduro and his socialist government in free and fair elections. They therefore have no right to prevent the government from implementing its social and economic policies sanctioned by the people of Venezuela with their votes.

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya Condemns the Violence Organized and Carried out by the Right-wing Forces Against the Democratically Elected Government of Venezuela

The SDP is aware of the sharp class struggles going on in Venezuela today: between the few rich and the majority poor, the elites and the working class, the former rich landlords and peasants, the exploiters and the exploited, the revolutionary forces and county revolutionary forces. After the triumph of the Bolivarian revolution led by former President Hugo Chavez, the reactionary classes that exploited, oppressed and betrayed to imperialism the majority of the citizens of Venezuela for many years, began to lose their ill-gotten privileges. They are bitter and are using all means possible to return to power, including false propaganda through the reactionary local and foreign media; economic sabotage that include hording essential commodities; crime, violence and terrorism. These reactionary forces are supported by US imperialism and her allies that have lost the power to control and pillage the economy and natural resources—especially oil—of Venezuela.

Comrade Nicolas Maduro, who was elected democratically to form and lead the government, continues with the socialist policies started by comrade Hugo Chavez. These are policies that have empowered the poor and majority to exercise their right to accrue benefits from the economy and resources of their country. The revolutionary government is implementing progressive land reforms and also educational, housing, health, poverty eradication and social security programs. President Nicolas Maduro and his government are famous for exposing and struggling against capitalism and imperialism not only in Latin America but also in the world. The government that is in power in Venezuela today is in solidarity with all people struggling for a peaceful, just, equitable and socialist world order. It is for this reason that President Nicolas Maduro and the Bolivarian

revolution is being sabotaged and fought tooth and nail by the reactionary forces inside and outside Venezuela.

SDP is in solidarity with President Nicolas Maduro, his government and people, as they exercise their legitimate right to govern Venezuela and to implement their socialist policies. We call upon all progressive people in Kenya and Africa to also express solidarity with the Bolivarian revolution and the violence and terror being perpetrated against the legitimate government by the right-wing forces inside Venezuela supported by imperialism.

Long live Comrade Nicolas Maduro!
Long live the Bolivarian Revolution of Venezuela!
Long live Socialism!

EXPOSING THE WESTERN PROPAGANDA AGAINST CHINESE INFLUENCE IN AFRICA

Gitahi Ngunyi, Secretary for Workers and Cooperatives - CPK
6 September 2021

A trend has been growing among Western leaning intellectuals in Africa in last one and a half decade regarding the continent's relationship with the People's Republic China (PRC). These intellectuals grab every opportunity in the media to push the view that the relationship between China and Africa is exploitative and oppressive. Without adducing any concrete evidence, they throw in terms like "Chinese imperialism" referring to the economic ties between the continent and China.

Faced with this type of imperialist propaganda, what should be the attitude of a Kenyan communist or progressives forces towards PRC? This question can only be answered after a careful analysis of the historical foundation of the relationship between China and Africa in general using Kenya as a case study.

Diplomatic Relation

When Kenya achieved independence from British colonialists in 1963, the People's Republic of China was on its fourteenth year after since the declaration by Chairman Mao Zedong at the Tiananmen Square following a successful workers and peasants revolution led by the Communist Party of China (CPC). Before the revolution, the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party had engaged in decades of struggle against Japanese colonization and American imperialism on their own land. It was therefore natural that China would identify with the struggles of a new Africa emerging from colonisation and, understandably, support the liberation movements in the African states that were still under colonisation

as well as seek deeper relationship with the newly independent African states.

In the case for Kenya, People's Republic of China was the fourth nation in the world to establish bilateral relations with the new independent state in 1963. Unfortunately, the Kenyan political elite with the nudging of Britain and United States of America (USA) adopted a neo-colonial direction and therefore squandered the opportunity of harvesting the full benefits of international fraternal solidarity that China was offering the new independent African states.

Cold War

It is worth remembering that China relations with Kenya started when the Cold War was at its height with the imperialist world (US and Western Europe) fighting every effort of Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and China to forge a new world order based on human solidarity, equality and freedom. African nations such as Kenya that projected the veneer of non-alignment yet secretly offered the West the platform to wage war against USSR and China lost decades in which they would have developed their economies to pull their people out of poverty, underdevelopment and backwardness.

In the 1990's when USSR fell, the African nations begun to realise their mistakes in a painful way. The West had heaped heavy debts on the young independent nations and development had been choked. Yet the West wanted to firm its control over the African resources at the expense of the people. Trapped in debt, the African states were forced to accept the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) from the World Bank which forced them to open their economies further to the Western multinationals and placing the natural resources of the African nation in the hands of the West.

It is at this time that African states, including Kenya begun seeking to deepen bilateral ties with Chinese government as a way of escaping from the harsh position they had been pushed into by the neoliberal policies of the West.

With the Chinese support, the African states begun to emerge from underdevelopment with the heavy investment in infrastructure that opened up hinterlands to economic advancement. This marked the start of the rising influence of China in Africa.

Chinese influence in African states is remarkable is several aspects. First, development loans from the Chinese government to African states are processed quickly thus shortening project turnaround time. In Kenya for example, most of the road networks and the Standard Gauge Railway have been completed in the last two decades. This short project turnaround time has resulted in the country's gross domestic product increasing substantially over the period. It has also pulled many people from poverty and transformed many hinterlands into thriving commercial centres.

Secondly, the development support from China is based on the priorities established by the African states. In the case of Kenya, this is the first time that the country is getting development support from another country based on its own priorities. Since independence, successive Kenyan governments have had expatriates from the West working in government offices to influence policy direction. The expatriates, who usually draw salaries from the World Bank, EU, USA or other Western European governments, ensure that they drive policy positions that promote neo-colonialism and imperialist interests in Kenya. On the other hand, China development support, which is based on the priorities of the Kenyan government, provides Kenyan

technocrats with the space to make independent policy decisions on the development of their own country.

Thirdly, Chinese solidarity with Kenya has contributed to the growth of industrialization especially in light industries. From 2002, machinery and equipment imports from China have grown substantially. According to the World Bank's World Integrated Trade Solution, Kenya's machinery and transport equipment imports from China currently stand at US$ 864 million making the far east country the biggest supplier of industrial machinery to Kenya. The result of this is increased production of commodities for domestic and export markets, higher returns for raw material producers, and increase in employment.

Finally, China is growing as a major export market for Kenya products over the last eighteen years through a process driven by Chinese government to open its market to goods and services from African states. In 2002, the value of Kenya's export to China was as low as US$ 5.7 million. By 2019, the volume of exports had increased by 2,500 percent to US$ 150 million.

Struggle Against Imperialism

Fundamentally, a Kenyan communist attitude towards China should also be informed by China's role in the world stage. In a world sweltering under the weight of US imperialism, China continues to struggle against imperialist attacks on independent nations. China for example continues to trade with Cuba, thus rejecting the 60-year economic blockade by the US government on the Caribbean socialist state. China is also providing essential support to Venezuelan people and their government at a time when the US government has intensified its efforts to destroy the South American nation economically and socially through unwarranted and illegitimate economic sanctions. At the UN Security Council, China has used its veto power to oppose

resolutions aimed at legitimising US imperialist aggression against independent states such as Cuba, Venezuela, Vietnam, Iran and Syria.

In conclusion, China has demonstrated through policy and action that it is a force for advancing a human, just, equal and free world where all human beings enjoy better quality of life.

PART III
IN SOLIDARITY WITH COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNIST PARTIES ADVANCING SOCIALISM IN THEIR COUNTRIES

The scientific application of socialism is highly dependent on each society's internal conditions: it considers the inherent nature of life and seeks to improve it. Economically and politically, that means including the people for whom the systems will be set in order to start building socialism towards communism for the people, by the people. This can only happen after the socialist revolution. This is the nature of the struggle: our world, particularly in the global south, was formed by the ethos and principles of others.

Under the capitalist ideology, societies were introduced to a 'capital' of which the value was not theirs but that of the invaders, occupiers and their internal collaborators. This created a class of 'connected' elite, or the comprador bourgeois, working against the interest of the majority. In turn, the instructions of power, be they the constitution or even their 'democracy' was what the imperialists, colonists and occupiers deemed them to be, and those were only handled by the selected few. In the previous section, we saw the forces at work: simple things like liberty or self-determination put aside so that the exploiters and neoliberalists can subjugate their people.

But this is being countered through socialism. As more communist parties and other Marxist-Leninist leaders and governments grow in power, their movements bring a new understanding and application of socialism—learning from the past, bringing out contradictions within their existing systems and implementing a true for-the-people government and structures—the tide grows. We stand in solidarity with all the

oppressed people of the world and affirm our commitment to building a global anti-imperialist front. To all the institutions committed to advancing socialism and building communism anywhere in the world, you have a partner in CPK. We learn from them, are inspired by their actions, and support them in their deeds. These are their stories and activities.

CONGRATULATIONS TO COMRADE EVO MORALES AND THE PEOPLE OF BOLIVIA!

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
October 2014

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya congratulates the People of Bolivia, Comrade President Evo Morales and the Movement Towards Socialism Party (MAS) for their victory in the recently held Presidential elections.

The republic and the people of Bolivia have experienced tremendous economic and social growth since the coming into power of the Socialist leadership under Evo Morales, a reality that is recognised by various United Nations organisations, and which even the western powers could not ignore.

To quote President Evo Morales, this victory is indeed "a victory to anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism…" not just in Bolivia and Latin America, but all over the world.

The Bolivian revolution continues to inspire and encourage Socialists in Kenya and throughout Africa that a new world, where oppression and exploitation of person by person, and of nation by nation no longer exists is possible.

Viva Socialism!
Viva Bolivia!
Viva Comrade Evo Morales!
Venceremos!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA WISHES THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS AT ITS UPCOMING 20TH PARTY CONGRESS

Sefu Sanni, General Secretary - CPK
10 October 2022

His Excellency Xi Jinping,
President of the People's Republic of China,
The General Secretary of the Communist Party of China,

Dear Comrade,

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) passes its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of China (CPC) at its 20th Party Congress on October 16, 2022, in Beijing.

In the name of Socialist Internationalism, the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) takes this opportunity to extend this message of congratulations, friendship and revolutionary solidarity to the leadership and membership of the CPC. The CPK wishes the CPC a fruitful discussion during this critical Congress and at this historical moment when US imperialism is getting desperate and escalating global wars. Through the CPC's leadership, China has made immense economic, cultural, scientific, technological, diplomatic and military achievements that have transformed the country from a poor, hungry, underdeveloped, colonial, imperialist dominated and exploited country into a world superpower on all fronts.

In Africa, we do not forget the moral and material support provided by the CPC and China in the anti-colonial, anti-apartheid and anti-imperialist national liberation struggles that led to the independence of our nations. Thanks to the CPC and China, imperialism is impeded from imposing a unipolar world, driving developing countries deeper and deeper into the

quagmire of imperialist economic, political, ideological, diplomatic and military slavery.

The CPC-led China continues to play one of the significant deterrent roles against the predatory tendencies of the USA and its imperialist allies in their planned destruction of Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Venezuela and other countries that it regards as its enemies. CPK also recognises the contribution of China under the guidance of the CPC in the economic and infrastructural development of Kenya and African countries.

In more than a hundred years of its dynamic life, the CPC has contributed significantly to developing the theory and ideology of communism and the fight for national liberation. As we build our Party, we benefit from the ideological works of the leaders of the CPC, from those of Chairman Mao Zedong and others. We learn how the CPC creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to deal with specific problems of China under specific historical and material circumstances until the triumph of the socialist revolution in 1949. It is this creative application of socialism that the CPC continues to apply that enables China to continue developing as the largest nation in the world and to progressively deal with current emerging national and global issues and problems. We single out China's invaluable role and contribution to the fight against the COVID-19 world pandemic.

CPK is proud of the good relations between the governments and peoples of Kenya and China that have led to the growth of trade, economic, cultural and diplomatic ties. When Kenya was under British colonialism, publications of the CPC—Peking Publications—were banned in our country. Even after independence, the revolutionary publications continued to be proscribed to prevent the Kenyan masses from accessing the liberating socialist ideology propagated by the CPC. Many

Kenyans were arrested, tortured, detained, and imprisoned for having CPC publications that were regarded as dangerous sedition by the ruling regimes. It wasn't until 1997 that the legal reforms brought about by the struggle of the Kenyan masses removed the most reactionary clauses in the national laws that banned CPC publications in the country.

Finally, CPK is committed to establishing fraternal relations with the CPC in the name of Socialist Internationalism, world peace and anti-imperialist solidarity and for the mutual benefit of our parties. While doing so, we will continue to expose and condemn the anti-China propaganda published by imperialism in Kenya and the world.

Long live the CPC!
Long live good relations between Kenya and China!
Long live socialist Internationalism!
Long live socialism!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA WISHES THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS AT ITS ONGOING 8TH PARTY CONGRESS

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK

16 April 2021

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) passes its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) on its 8th Party Congress taking place between 16th and 19th April 2021 in Havana.

The Communist Party of Cuba continues to be a great inspiration and a shining light to the whole progressive world in the struggle for socialism and internationalism. Under the great and visionary leadership of the Party, and even under unimaginable challenges that have arisen out of the US blockade on Cuba, Cuba has managed to show the world that it is possible to resist imperialism and still uplift millions of people out of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, lack of healthcare, homelessness, inequality among other human rights that are denied to the majority of people in rich capitalist countries.

The CPK continues to be inspired by the PCC and will tirelessly express its solidarity with the Cuban socialist revolution, and will not relent in its unequivocal demand that the US blockade must be brought to an end, and that the United States must return Guantanamo Bay to Cuba, its rightful owner.

The CPK also congratulates Cuba on her 60th anniversary of the military victory against the United States of America during the latter's invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. It was during this war where the US troops and mercenaries received the most resounding defeat (after the Korean War) at the hands of the

Cuban revolutionary army and peasants under the leadership of Comandante Fidel Castro Ruz.

The victory over the US imperialist forces in 1961 confirmed that the young Cuban revolution had the ability to effectively defend the gains of the socialist revolution.

We wish the outgoing First Secretary of PCC comrade Raul Castro, and we also wish comrade President Miguel Diaz-Canel the very best as they lead the deliberations at the 8th Party Congress.

Long live the Communist Party of Cuba!
Long live Fidel Castro!
Long live Raul Castro!
Long live the leadership of the PCC!
Long live the Socialist Revolution of Cuba!

MESSAGE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ON THE 100 YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE CPC

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
22 April 2021

This year, 2021, marks a hundred years since the founding of the great Communist Party of China (CPC).

In the name of Socialist Internationalism, the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) takes this opportunity to extend this message of congratulations, friendship and revolutionary solidarity to the leadership and membership of the CPC as you commemorate the long and rich history of your Party that led the people of China to liberate themselves and nation from feudalism, brutal Japanese colonialism and imperialism led by the United States of America.

Through the leadership of the CPC, China has succeeded to make immense economic, cultural, scientific, technological, diplomatic and military achievements that have transformed your country from a poor, hungry, underdeveloped, colonial, imperialist dominated and exploited country into a world superpower in all fronts.

In Africa, we do not forget the moral and material support that was provided by the CPC and China in the anti-colonial, anti-apartheid and anti-imperialist national liberation struggles that led to the independence of our nations. Thanks to the CPC and China, imperialism is today impeded from imposing a unipolar world of driving developing countries deeper and deeper in the quagmire of imperialist economic, political, ideological, diplomatic and military slavery.

The CPC led China continues to play one of the significant deterrent roles against the predatory tendencies of the USA and

its imperialist allies in their planned destruction of Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Venezuela and other countries that it regards as its enemies. CPK also recognises the contribution of China under the guidance of the CPC in the economic and infrastructural development of Kenya and African countries.

In the course of the hundred years of its dynamic life, the CPC has made significant contributions to the development of the theory and ideology of communism and the fight for national liberation. As we build our Party, we benefit from the ideological works of the leaders of the CPC, from those of Chairman Mao Zedong and others. We learn how the CPC creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to deal with specific problems of China under specific historical and material circumstances until the triumph of the socialist revolution in 1949. It is this creative application of socialism that the CPC continues to apply that enables China to continue developing the largest nation of the world and to progressively deal with current emerging national and global issues and problems. We single out the invaluable role and contribution of China in the fight against the COVID-19 world pandemic.

CPK is proud of the good relations between the governments and peoples of Kenya and China that have led to the growth of trade, economic, cultural and diplomatic relations. When Kenya was under British colonialism, publications of the CPC—Peking Publications—were banned in our country. Even after independence, the revolutionary publications continued to be proscribed to prevent the Kenyan masses from accessing the liberating socialist ideology propagated by the CPC. Many Kenyans were arrested, tortured, detained, and imprisoned for being in possession of CPC publications that were regarded as dangerous sedition by the ruling regimes. It wasn't until 1997 that

the legal reforms brought about by the struggle of the Kenyan masses removed the most reactionary clauses in the national laws that banned CPC publications in the country.

We note that different Kenyan political parties of various ideological orientations have relations with the CPC. CPK hopes that this development will help to expose Kenyan leaders and politicians to progressive and anti-imperialist ideas.

Finally, CPK, which is a registered political party in accordance with the laws of Kenya, is committed towards establishing fraternal relations with the CPC in the name of Socialist Internationalism, world peace and anti-imperialist solidarity and for mutual benefit of our parties. While doing so we will continue to expose and condemn the anti-China propaganda being published by imperialism in Kenya and the world.

Hongera sana CPC kwa kuadhimisha miaka mia moja ya mapinduzi.
Long live the CPC!
Long live good relations between Kenya and China!
Long live socialist Internationalism!
Long live socialism!

CELEBRATING THE LIFE OF COMRADE FIDEL CASTRO RUZ

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP; Chairperson - Kenya-Cuba Friendship Society

2 December 2016

On this occasion, when we commemorate the passing on of comrade Fidel, I have decided to reproduce the poem that I wrote in Kiswahili about two years ago about him.[1] Yes, Fidel is no longer with us physically but since he died a hero as I predicted (just as many of us did too) Fidel lives on. And because even Fidel was a human being and therefore mortal, we did not expect him to live forever. We needed him all the time but we always knew that like all of us he would one day pass on. And so he has passed on. But he, Fidel, is not dead. For we can now declare for certain and without any iota of doubt that Fidel has passed on as a hero and heroes do not die. Fidel is a peoples' hero, he is a hero of Cuba, Latin America, Africa and humanity. Throughout his life Fidel struggled, thought, wrote, taught and dedicated for the freedom, happiness, peace and liberation of the exploited and oppressed and all human beings—for socialism and communism. In the battle of ideas, we inherit a wealth of revolutionary weapons of theory and real experiences to defend and guide our struggle against capitalism, imperialism and all forms of reactionary ideas and practices—and for socialism. To the people of Cuba, Fidel has left a country that despite the longest and most brutal economic, commercial and financial blockades ever imposed against any country by US imperialism, remains one of the most resilient, independent, free, just, principled and

[1] Unfortunately, this English translation of the poem from its original in Kiswahili published below does not sound poetic.

inspiring country on earth. So at this day we do not join the people of Cuba—that include his brother President Raul Castro and his blood family and extended family of comrades and friends escorting him to his final resting place at Santiago de Cuba—to mourn Fidel; we are with the people of Cuba at this solemn occasion to celebrate the 90 years Fidel lived with us. And what a life it was! …Oh yes, the struggle left by Fidel continues and must continue!

FIDEL CASTRO RUZ

Mwandawiro Mghanga

17 May 2014

I love the land of Cuba, its people, economics and politics
The system of love, geared towards socialist development
Of carrying forward all citizens, to participate in social progress
The system of removing, the vestiges of exclusion and marginalization -
To enable all to meet their needs, that's the aim of their economy
Yes, they have a lot of problems, but they courageously struggle with them
How I wish to live in Cuba, but lo! our struggle in Kenya needs me

Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, he is famous all over the world
The log of revolution, symbol of bravery for a just cause
Champion of the struggle for love on earth, of all to live well
Searching for a good leader? Look in Fidel Castro!
He continues with revolutionary struggle, despite his age
He has retired from state leadership, but he is still in the journey
Revolutionary education, of social justice and peace on our planet
He is still committed to the work, theoretically and ideologically

Socialist ideology and theory, he contributes to everyday
He interprets and expounds Marxism, in the present conditions of the world

He thinks about technological development, and science for human security
To Fidel education and health, should be prioritized
And in the utilization of natural resources,
Humanity must end greed and waste, conserve the environment or perish!
Fidel condemns capitalism and imperialism, while exposing its injustices
He advocates for socialism, the system worth struggling for
He has made a contribution to revolutionary struggle, he continues to do so

They have tried to assassinate him, the US imperialists
They have targeted his life over hundred times, capitalists are evil
Because Fidel has prevented them, from continuing to colonize Cuba
Exploiters and oppressors hate Fidel, they wish to bury him in the grave
But to the wretched of the earth, Fidel is their beloved hero
Hundreds of millions of people pray for him, that he lives a long life
Yes, Fidel motivates, he lights the fire of revolution in us

In the freedom and liberation war, the two Cuban people's heroes met
Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, believers of the same ideology
Through the revolutionary struggle, the comrades united
The brothers in combat committed themselves to the work,
The members of the party struggled together
Until Cuba was liberated, and the whole world witnessed
From then on the roots of socialism, continue to grow and grow
True, the Cuban revolution lives and will continue to live
Fidel Castro Ruz, we thank you Cubans for him

Socialism marches on triumphantly, in spite of the neighboring enemy
US imperialists hate Fidel with passion, they are still bitter of the past defeat

Because they invaded and occupied Cuba, exploiting the country as colonialists do
Even today they still conspire against Cuba, they are strangling it with blockade!
But Cuba insists on going forward, forward ever
Cuba will not give up or turn away from the true path of freedom
Fidel maintains: socialism is the hope for Cuba and the world
We cannot liberate ourselves, by returning to the past, capitalism!
Yes, we hear you Fidel we hear you clearly,
Yes, the masses listen to you even in Kenya and Africa

It is not in my habit, listen to me, it is not a good habit
To praise as a hero a person who is still alive
Fidel does not like it either, I am aware
For as long as you are alive you have not grown fully,
Our ancestors taught us, I remember
Still I shower praises to Fidel, many big praises, he is a hero
He has embraced being humane, he does not worship money
As for remaining firm in the cause, I do not doubt Fidel for a second
He will die fighting for the common person, whatever come may!
That is why I dedicate this poem to him, long live Fidel!
Your life is an example to follow, Fidel Castro Ruz
Good health, dear comrade!

HOMAGE TO COMRADE FIDEL CASTRO: LESSONS FOR HUMANITY

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
4 December 2016

As Comandante Fidel Castro's ashes are interred today (4th December 2016) in Santiago de Cuba, the place where the July 26th rebel movement began its journey to overthrow dictatorship and capitalism, there are many lessons that Kenyans and the whole of humanity can learn from the life of this great legend.

He remains a great inspiration to the young people of this country who are disturbed by the ever-rising levels of poverty, greed and corruption. In his twenties, Fidel's conviction for a just society led him into organising two attempts to overthrow the then military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, and he was eventually successful at the young age of thirty-two.

Fidel disembarked from the Granma boat with a rebel army of 87 men and got to the Sierra Maestra mountains with less than twenty guerrillas. Through such actions, he continues to inspire those working for a better society but are few in numbers. He was never discouraged by the loss of combatants or the greater fire-power of Batista's army, he understood that what he needed on his side was the support of the masses and not bigger guns.

Fidel teaches us to always be prepared. It was through preparation and working with the masses that Fidel Castro was able to defeat the US trained soldiers who invaded Cuba from the US in 1961 at the Bay of Pigs. It is this preparedness that has deterred the US from militarily invading Cuba since then.

Unlike the primitive accumulation tendencies that we see with our African leaders, Fidel Castro and his leadership never sought material riches for themselves. They worked hard to ensure that every Cuban had equal and unlimited opportunities to

achieve what they humanly could. That is how Cuba was able to achieve unparalleled successes in the fields of education, preventive and curative health, sciences, gender and racial equality, housing and employment among other aspects of human development. All this was achieved in spite of the existence of the most brutal economic, commercial and financial blockade from the US that has been in place for over 50 years.

Through Fidel, a lesson on resilience and being true to self is learnt. Not many countries can survive a blockade such as the one that has been imposed on Cuba. Through resilience, Cuba has not only survived that blockade, but has managed to mobilize the whole world into condemning this US aggression on Cuba. Every year at the UN General Assembly, virtually all countries except the US and Israel vote against the blockade. Fifty-four years into the blockade, the US President Barack Obama admitted that its policy had failed and he began the process of normalization of relationships between the two countries. However, the blockade still remains in force.

After the fall of the USSR, Cuba lost its closest trading partner and the Cuban economy was brought to its knees. Many countries abandoned Socialism, many Socialist Political Parties across the world dropped Marxism-Leninism as their ideology, and many Marxists intellectuals and politicians no longer wished to be identified with Socialism. However, Cuba's Socialism did not fall with the fall of the wall. The country instead diversified and realigned its Socialist economy by moving towards green energy, popular organic farming, pharmaceutical and biomedical technology and other niches that are today the envy of many. Out of this resilience and inspiration, Socialist countries began to rise a decade later in Latin America, from Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua to Ecuador. Leftist governments also came into power

in Argentina, Brazil and other Latin American countries. Throughout Africa, the old 'Marxist' intellectuals were replaced by young Marxist revolutionaries who's understanding was/is not pegged on mother Russia but on the principles of equality and prosperity of humanity, just like Fidel Castro did.

Under the leadership of Fidel Castro, Cuba taught the world the most important lessons on giving and solidarity. Cuban Universities have awarded thousands of full scholarships to youth from developing countries who are now serving their countries as doctors and other professionals. Cuba does not award these scholarships because it is a rich country. In fact, Cuba's GDP is smaller than that of many developing countries, including Kenya. Cuba gives because sharing is a human responsibility. This poses a challenge to countries like Kenya that are surrounded by worse off countries. How many scholarships does Kenya give to young people from Somalia, South Sudan or the DR Congo?

Cuban combatants have fought alongside their African compatriots in their struggles against colonialism and imperialism. Cubans assisted Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Ethiopia and South Africa either in their struggle for independence, or in their wars against external aggression, and as Raul Castro once said while in Angola, Cuba fought alongside Africans and left not with coffee or minerals, but with the body bags of their heroic soldiers. Cuba's internationalist policy is unlike the US globalization policy; Cuba did not sacrifice its children so that they could exploit and dominate others, but it did so to fulfil its internationalist duty to humanity.

Western Sahara, Africa's last colony, continues to be up to this day. Are African countries waiting for Cubans to come and

fight for the decolonization of the Saharawi? Do we think petitions and African Union commission reports will convince Morocco to leave Western Sahara? Haven't we learnt anything from the sacrifices of the Cuban people?

Today, Cuba continues with this internationalist practice, but now by sending humanitarian 'combatants' wherever humanity needs them. From hurricane crises in Asia and the Americas, to the Ebola crisis in West Africa, Cuban doctors have always been on the frontlines of fighting and containing these disasters. While commenting on the Haitian earthquake, one Haitian expressed his gratitude to the Cuban doctors by stating that "After God, Fidel."

Fidel gave us lessons on how to fight today's emerging crimes like terrorism. In the 80s and the 90's, terrorists from Miami (supported by the CIA) tried to destroy Cuba's tourism industry by bombing hotels, Cuban airplanes and other economic interests, even going to the extent of using bio-terrorism on innocent civilians. Rather than terrorise and alienate innocent civilians like the Kenyan government is doing today, Fidel sent his security personnel to infiltrate the enemy and unearth terror plans before they happened. That is how the world famous Cuban anti-terrorism heroes, popularly known as the Cuban 5 came to be (They were arrested in the US and given harsh/life sentences for espionage, but were freed by President Obama in December 2014).

Throughout his life, Fidel has survived assassination attempts on his life and worst still on his character, but this never dampened his resolve. They lied about his wealth but he continued living a simple life. They lied about human rights violations but he continued to provide the highest attainable human rights for his people. Even at his death, reactionary media continues to desecrate his name by publishing lies about this

great revolutionary. Fidel has taught us to ignore the liars and detractors and instead soldier on and do what is right.

I therefore reiterate the homage that Carlos Aznárez paid to Fidel Castro where he wrote:

> *"So, when difficulties seem too much, and we believe we're running out of strength, when we lack answers and when confusion makes us doubt about who the enemy is, when times are dark and without hope, let's go back to Fidel, to his ideas, to his ethic, to his audacity, to his courage, to his revolutionary power, and let's rise again to continue this wonderful adventure to take the skies.*
>
> *"A little heartbroken but never defeated, we salute you, dear Commander. We will turn back to you every now and then and ask you: 'Are we doing well, Fidel?'"*

An avid reader, a sportsman, an arts enthusiast, a teacher, a great leader, a prolific writer, an environmentalist, an orator, a thinker, a fighter, and above all, a Communist.

Hasta Siempre Comandante,
Long live Fidel Castro!
Long live Socialism!
We shall be Victorious!

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT UHURU KENYATTA ON STRENGTHENING KENYA'S SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - KCFS
17 July 2019

Your Excellency President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta,

Firstly, on behalf of Kenya-Cuba Friendship Society (KCFS) I send you greetings and best wishes!

I also take this opportunity to thank you and your government for strengthening diplomatic and friendly relations between our country and Cuba. This was expressed by your historical visit to Havana a few years ago. The invitation of the Cuban doctors to offer medical services to various Counties of Kenya, and mingle freely while working closely with our people especially in the rural areas is yet another sign of the growth of the friendly relations between our two nations.

KCFS is proud of these progressive diplomatic developments that tell the world that Kenya is today striving to develop a progressive and independent foreign policy. In fact, this is as it should be.

Now, as your government strengthens cooperation with the government of Cuba by signing and implementing various bilateral agreements, KCFS that was established and registered in 2003 has always worked to strengthen the people-to-people diplomacy, friendship and solidarity between the two countries. This we have done consistently and with commitment to our internationalist beliefs based on peace and friendship among people of the world.

KCFS is proud and grateful that many Kenyans have studied and graduated in various educational institutions on free scholarship programs offered by the government and the people

of Cuba. I have personally travelled to Cuba several times, sometimes with big and important delegations, to convey the appreciation of the Kenyan people in this regard. Members of KCFS have often interacted with the leaders and the people of Cuba whenever they visit our country. We always consciously work to promote the globalization of peace, friendship and solidarity among the people and nations of the world. We defend the right of all nations, big or small, to freedom, national sovereignty and self-determination. We are vehemently opposed to imperialism and hegemonic policies and actions against other nations.

It is for these reasons that we condemn the brutal and unjustifiable economic, financial and commercial blockade imposed against Cuba by the United States of America. The blockade is a gross violation of the human rights of the people of Cuba. It is meant to destroy the freedom and independence of Cuba and return the country to the colonial and neo-colonial past.

As Your Excellency is aware, Cuba does not threaten the United States or interfere in its internal affairs in any way. Cuba is a progressive country that only desires peace, friendship and solidarity among human beings. Cuba exports humane solidarity and not weapons and war. Cuba therefore does not deserve the warlike actions perpetrated by the United States against it through the cruel and sadistic blockade. Most of the members of the United Nations and the African Union disapprove the shameful and uncivilized actions perpetrated by the US that purports to be the champion of democracy and human rights in the world.

The US blockade against Cuba has existed since the independence of Cuba from dictatorship and colonialism sixty years ago. The blockade has not succeeded to force the patriotic

and resilient people of Cuba to surrender their freedom, independence and humanity to imperialism and colonialism. Nevertheless, the economic, commercial and financial blockade have caused and continue to cause enormous damage and difficulties to the people of Cuba and their development. They are a great stumbling block to Cuba's desire to realize rapid development and social progress.

President Donald Trump is aware of all this, that is why in his fascistic thinking and attitude he and his government have tightened the blockade even more than ever before. I am sure, President Kenyatta, your Ambassadors at Havana and Washington have informed you about this despicable and uncivilized behaviour by a super power nation against as small but resilient nation.

As citizens of Kenya who are committed to the development of democracy, peace and human rights in Kenya and the world, KCFS is writing to Your Excellency openly to request you to condemn the US blockade and blatant hostility against Cuba in the name of peace, democracy, human rights and civilized behaviour. Do this on behalf of Kenyans and for humanity. Let our country continue to be counted on the side of global relations of mutual respect, peace and friendship and not that of hostility, war, hegemony and uncivilized behaviour. Let your government do what is right: support Cuba in all ways possible against the US blockade. This is expected by the good people of the US and the world. It is also reciprocity to the solidarity Cuba has always extended to Africa.

As a good citizen of Kenya I am sending you this open and frank message on behalf of KCFS because I have a right and duty to do so. It is for humanity.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA AND THE KENYA-CUBA FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY WELCOMES PRESIDENT UHURU KENYATTA'S STATE VISIT TO THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - KCFS
13 March 2018

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) and the Kenya-Cuba Friendship Society (KCFS) welcomes the State visit to the Republic of Cuba by His Excellency President Uhuru Kenyatta.

This visit further cements the good relations that Kenya has had with Cuba over the years. For instance, Kenya has consistently over the years, alongside almost all the Countries of the world, voted in support of the resolution to end the blockade that has been imposed on Cuba by US imperialism for the past 55 years. In 2016 Kenya opened her first embassy in Cuba (while Cuba opened hers in Kenya in 2001). Cuba has, and continues to offer numerous University scholarships to Kenyan students in various disciplines that include Medicine, Science, Engineering and Sports. Kenyan and Cuban Scientists, Sportsmen and Military personnel have in the past held joint projects and through such collaboration, both countries have benefited.

Both Kenya and Cuba are developing Countries which face common and uncommon challenges. Working together, both Countries can learn a lot from each other. Cuba, in spite of the unimaginable hardship caused by the 55-year-old economic, commercial and financial blockade, has managed to offer one of the world's highest qualities of healthcare and education to its citizens, all for free. Cuba has made huge advancements in the fields of science, art and sports.

Even though such development can only be achieved, at such low costs, through a Socialist planned system (which is much superior to the Capitalist path that Kenya has taken), Kenya still can learn a lot from Cuba not only in these fields but also in the area of foreign policy, and in particular internationalism, south-south cooperation and African Solidarity. We acknowledge Uhuru Kenyatta's independent foreign policy in this regard.

Kenya-Cuba Friendship Society has since the year 2003 fostered closer ties between the peoples of Kenya and the peoples of Cuba through people-to-people diplomacy, and we know that the visit by President Uhuru Kenyatta will not only strengthen the government-to-government relations, but also the people-to-people ties.

During his visit and after, the SDP and the KCFS ask President Kenyatta to reaffirm Kenya's opposition to the US blockade on Cuba, and to demand for the return of Guantanamo Bay to the Republic of Cuba.

Long live the friendship and solidarity between Kenya and Cuba!

A VICTORY TOWARDS VICTORY

Ajiambo Joyce Ashlyn, Secretary for Ideology and International Affairs - CPK
1 August 2021

Comrades, I bring revolutionary greetings from the leadership of the Communist Party of Kenya.

Today is a special day not only in Ghana but in Africa at large. It is a special day in the sense that we stand here today. In the land of our beloved Kwame Nkrumah to echo the voices of victory towards victory that are resounding in Africa.

Dear comrades, I stand to convey our heartfelt congratulatory messages on behalf of the Communist Party of Kenya to the Socialist Movement of Ghana. This is a historic achievement towards the struggle to end all forms of oppression and exploitation of person by person in Ghana and beyond. We are encouraged by the fact that the Ghanaian Socialist Forum re-introduced progressive and scientific thinking into Ghana's population over the years and with remarkable results that have been felt throughout the continent and the progressive world.

The Communist Party of Kenya has had the opportunity to share platforms with the Ghanaian Socialist Forum in several international forums, including solidarity meetings with Cuba, Venezuela, Western Sahara and Palestine. The two organisations have worked together in trying to revive the Pan-African movement even at a time when the leadership of the two organisations did not know each other.

Therefore, our presence here is neither accidental nor a mere formality, but an act of true solidarity.

The Communist Party of Kenya has also had its own transformations that were difficult to achieve, but have helped bring back ideological politics and clarity into Kenyan politics,

which is still stifled with tribalism, which the owning class deliberately use to divide the masses and to scuttle their ability to organise.

In the 1980s, Communist, Socialists, and pro-democratic reforms activists in Kenya had to organise from the underground, since the dictatorship of the then President Daniel Moi and the KANU Party refused to allow for any progressive, let alone revolutionary organisation to happen. Many patriots lost their lives, many survived with permanent physical and non-physical injuries, and many even lost the will to continue with the struggle.

In 1992, the ruling party KANU was forced to re-introduce multi-partism as was the case in many other African countries, but revolutionary names and identity for political parties were still banned.

Later on, many revolutionaries and progressives decided to hide under the name "Social Democratic Party of Kenya" and over time they converted the party into a proper Marxist-Leninist party, while still maintaining the SDP tag.

In 2010, the Kenyan masses won another victory in the reforms sense, when the new Kenyan Constitution was promulgated, ushering in a new era of democratic and human rights reforms.

In 2019, the Party Congress resolved to change the Party's name so that it could reflect who we actually are…and we are Communists. And therefore on 5th January 2019, the Communist Party of Kenya was re-born, with its true identity.

However, even though the Kenyan Constitution allowed for such changes to happen, the Government of Kenya refused to accept the change of name, claiming that Communism failed, communism is divisive, communism is illegal in Kenya, and that our symbols were scary (of course, the bourgeoisie must be

scared when we remind them that we shall hammer then out of oppression, and sickle them from exploiting the working class and the masses!)

To cut the long story short, the Party, by use of political and legal tactics, eventually won the political and legal battles and we now organise legally as the Communist Party of Kenya.

But why are we sharing this history? We are sharing this history because the struggle of building revolutionary organisations, whether in Ghana, Zambia, Tunisia or Kenya is a difficult process, right from reclaiming our identity, and in doing the difficult work of building the organisation, increasing the political and ideological consciousness of the working class and the masses, and to forming revolutionary alliances and solidarity with communist political parties, socialist governments across the world and all the oppressed peoples of the world.

However, irrespective of all the challenges and persecution that is brought towards us, towards the Socialist Movement of Ghana, we must push on with the struggle for a better humanity.

As a young revolutionary woman, I believe that the adoption of the working program for the Socialist Movement of Ghana, which speaks to the mobilisation of the women and the youth will be of immense value to the Movement. Women and the youth have been the greatest victims of the neo-liberalism that has sunk Africa into the worst of poverty…leaving us with no other option but to fight for a peaceful and classless society.

As I conclude, the Communist Party of Kenya hereby encourages the Socialist Movement of Ghana to accelerate its growth path, so that we can soon be invited here again to launch the Socialist, or better still, the Communist Party of Ghana, CPG!

Political parties are the highest platforms of engaging the masses in their struggle against the ever-organised bourgeoisie.

Most revolutionary political parties in Africa are still small, but that must not be an excuse for slowing ourselves down.

Viva the Socialist Movement of Ghana!
Viva Pan-Africanism Viva!
Down with imperialism down!

LETTER TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY

Sefu Sanni, General Secretary - CPK
10 October 2022

Mauro Alboresi,
General Secretary of the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI)

Dear Comrade Mauro,

CONGRATULAZIONI AL PARTITO COMMUNISTA D'ITALIA—LA LOTTA CONTINUA!

On behalf of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK), receive revolutionary greetings and best wishes. The CPK congratulates the Communist Party of Italy (CPI) for waging a brave and inspiring electoral campaign culminating in the general elections held on September 25 2022.

The Communist Party of Kenya would like to affirm its permanent and unconditional solidarity with the Communist Party of Italy and the Italian working class. The just concluded elections in Italy have exposed the bankruptcy of bourgeoisie liberal democracy and bolstered our faith in the revolution. It has also revealed the inherent contradiction in the capitalist mode of production.

The contradictions within the global capitalist arrangement have precipitated a return to fascism in Western Liberal democracies. The ugly social inequality has been a fertile ground for far-right political parties to thrive by taking the masses out of reality. The mass unemployment in those democracies has been narrowed down to the immigrant crisis, mainly from the global south. Fascist propaganda has been weaponized to mobilize the working class on hate inspired by racism. The rise of petit nationalism with sterile rally calls like Italy first can be heard

being repeated by the drivers of fascism. Christianity has been vulgarized to step on individual rights in the name of bourgeois morality.

CPK followed your campaigns right from the onset and was very inspired by the involvement of the youth league, the Italian Communist Youth Federation. The far-right politician Giorgia Meloni, who is expected to become Italy's prime minister after the concluded elections on September 25, 2022, can only exacerbate the already worse conditions of the Italian working class. The continued failure of the neoliberal policy of the Brothers of Italy party will offer another opportunity to form a new offensive against the fascist forces. CPK stands shoulder to shoulder with your struggles, and we know that PCI will emerge victorious. Together let's build a massive anti-imperialist front.

CPK is committed towards establishing fraternal relations with the Communist Party of Italy in the name of Socialist Internationalism, world peace and anti-imperialist solidarity and for the mutual benefit of our parties

Morte ai fascist!
Long live PCI!
Long live CPK!
Long live good relations between Kenya and Italy!
Long live socialist Internationalism!
Long live socialism!

THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA REGARDING NORTH KOREA

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK
29 March 2021

North Korea is a subject of international debate. Most of the debates on the far east country are however clouded by view of the country that has been created by US government propaganda.

In a bid to provide our readers with a different view of North Korea, *ITIKADI* spoke to the Communist Party of Kenya Vice-Chairperson, Booker Ngesa Omole, who is also a member of Songun Study in Kenya.

Excerpts….

Q: What is the position of the Communist Party of Kenya regarding North Korea?

A: The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is a beacon of hope for all the oppressed and exploited people of the world. The DPRK is the pillar of our anti-imperialist struggles. The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) and the Kenyan people have always been friends of the people of North Korea. The African people understand the pain of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and now imperialism. We know who our friends are, imperialism continues to cause untold suffering in Africa, and no amount of Western propaganda and outright lies can prevail over the truth. Some bad-mouth the Korean socialist project and we understand where they are coming from. The remnants of colonialism are still evident and making some people more gullible to believing European and American notions of things. In Europe and North America, conditioned masses, have stubbornly refused to comprehend the reasons why the Empire has made the people of North Korea suffer so terribly for years. American based cable TV channels like CNN have conditioned

the thinking of some of our people. The Communist Party of Kenya, among other revolutionary organizations, has been at the forefront to rebut this well-choreographed western propaganda. The alternative anti-imperialist media like TeleSur, Press TV, RT has provided the hardware to lead this war. Social media is another avenue that has been instrumental in our anti-imperialism agenda.

Q: In the West, there are a lot of talks about the future of Africa-North Korea relations; there are also several commentaries mainly from African left intellectuals on the Korean socialist project. Where is the communist party in this?

A: Like I already mentioned, the global south, from Latin America to Africa know that imperialism is a threat to humanity, they continue to be sacrificed for the benefit of a few multinationals, their lives have been ruined and devastated in defense for profits. So, when the African people see North Korea standing tall against imperialism, they have no choice but to support them and share in their struggles and pain. Just like Cuba, the DPRK has a history with the African people, the people of North Korea have shed blood-fighting for the liberation of Africa. Like Cuba, North Korea dared to step on the toes of Western colonialism and imperialism. Sacrificing its sons and daughters, the DPRK helped to liberate many African countries, and it helped the most progressive forces on the most plundered and devastated continent, the 'dark' continent of Africa.

This humiliation is one thing that the West never forgives. It lives off the unbridled plunder of all continents; it mainly thrives by looting its colonies. Those countries that assisted the liberation struggles, those nations that fought for the freedom of the colonized world, Cuba, China, the USSR, and the DPRK, these countries were designated by Western ideologues as the

most dangerous and evil places on Earth. That is how western propaganda works.

Q: On the colonial equation of the African people, what role did North Koreans play?

A: North Korea has always been Africa's true friend. For a clearer picture of the North Korea's friendship I will quote the reflections on Communist Party of Kenya Chairperson, Mwandawiro Mghanga, as follows:

> *"When the whole of the African continent was under Western colonialism, Korea, under the revolutionary leadership of comrade Kim Il Sung was fighting Japanese colonialism and showing solidarity with Africa at the same time. After the DPRK, the name of socialist internationalism increased its moral, military, and other material support to African countries in their struggle for liberation from colonialism, imperialism, and apartheid. Immediately after independence from colonialism in the 1960s, thousands of Africans, including Kenyans, received free higher, technical, and specialized education in the DPRK. The DPRK not only offered arms, finance, and other material solidarity to Namibia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique in the war against apartheid and imperialism, but it also actually sent internationalist revolutionaries to Africa to fight side by side with Africans for Africa. The DPRK fought with Egypt and Africa during the 1967 war against the brutal Zionist regime of Israel supported by the Western countries. Today the DPRK is together with African countries in demand for a new just international order. In this, the DPRK is blamed by imperialism and imperialist puppet regimes for being in the forefront and showing by example that a new just international order cannot be but anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, it must be socialist".*

The DPRK also took part in the liberation struggle in Angola, and it fought in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Lesotho, and Namibia and Seychelles. It aided the African National Congress and its epic struggle to liberate South Africa from apartheid. In

the past, it had supported the then progressive African nations, including Guinea, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Mali, and Tanzania.

Q: The United States and her western allies have pursued the policy of sanctions in a way to try and isolate Pyongyang and suffocate her to give up her socialist project; in your opinion, has this been a success?

A: The communist party of Kenya has always joined the world in condemning these illegal sanctions and financial blockades against any sovereign country. These unlawful sanctions, from Venezuela and Cuba to the DPRK, are an act of provocation and a declaration of war; you cannot just starve people to death because they have a different way of thinking. When you do that, you must deal with the consequences. We need to call on the USA to respect international law. All these sanctions instigated by the imperialist countries and legalized by the United Nations have never achieved anything except the untold suffering of the ordinary people.

No country has chosen a socialist path and advanced that path undisturbed by imperialist countries; look at Cuba, Venezuela now, and Bolivia. The USA starts with sanctions and financial blockades, after imposing sanctions and isolating these countries economically, then they unleash lethal propaganda machinery. It is when these economies start to crumble as a result of these sanctions that they begin to document the so-called failures of socialism. They cleverly do not mention the effects of the sanctions; some people foolishly believe the lies for a moment. Once they win the debate of public opinion by lies, then they move in to bomb these countries, killing innocent people in the name of salvation from socialism, what follows is looting the nation's natural resources. It is the same script. If socialism was

failing, why not just let it be, why accelerate its failure with illegal sanctions.

The DPRK is only telling the world that they are prepared and willing to defend those ideas that they continue to pay a huge price for. The people of North Korea want self-reliance. They want the freedom of thought; they want to continue to build their country by implementing Juche socialism. In short, they don't want to be dogs of the USA empire.

It is the West that should be suffering from the most stringent sanctions imaginable, not the DPRK. It is the West, that has murdered millions of human beings, throughout history. It is the West that colonized, plundered, raped, and enslaved people in all corners of the planet. What moral mandate does it have to propose and impose sanctions against anyone?

Q: The world faces a threat of nuclear thermal war, what is your take on the Pyongyang nuclear program?

A: Is North Korea the only source of nuclear threat to the world, as portrayed by the mainstream media? No, the West is a nuclear oligopoly. North Korea's sin is that it refuses to surrender, to fall on its knees, to sacrifice its people. It refuses to become a slave. It is natural that if North Korea is attacked, it will have to hit back, that is the only way the West will get the message clear. Now the USA imperialist army has been slaughtering kids and women away from home, but if they dare start any war in the Korean Peninsula, they will have to collect dozens of corpses in their soil. Unlike the imperialist regime in Washington, the North Koreans respect the sanctity of life, but when your life is under a real threat, then you have to defend it. Those hypocritical nuclear talks started by Trump administration were bound to fail. How is it possible that Trump wanted peace with North Korea while he

is not only openly provoking Iran to war but funding criminals in Caracas and attacking China.

The nuclear program in Pyongyang is only to deter the imperialist aggressors from attacking the people of North Korea. If the DPRK did not have a strong people's defense force, they would not be standing today. Look at Chile; the West murdered the revolutionary socialist leader, Salvador Allende. In Bolivia, they are leading a blood bath after they organized a coup against President Evo Morales. In Libya, the Obama administration murdered Muammar Gadaffi, now Libya is the hub of slavery, human trafficking, and children savagery. With all these happening, the DPRK must continue to build on their defense arsenal.

Q: The communist party of Kenya has talked on several occasions against the imperialist military bases in Africa, how does this tie to the USA foreign policy in Asia*?*

A: The US foreign policy is on an all-time low; they only know how to make wars; it is a foreign policy of plunder. The war excursions in the Korean Peninsula is another course of instability. The USA military bases in Seoul, Japan, and in the entire pacific. These war drums are right at the doorstep of the North Korean people. The USA empire has gone rogue; they are increasing their nuclear arsenal; they are willing to nuke anywhere anyhow. They want to maintain their hegemony; to further imperialism at any human cost. The Washington warmongers are crazy; they do not even hide anything these days; they have run out of tact to cover their evil.

Suppose you look back at history, the Korean war. Many Koreans got sacrificed at the altar of useless imperialist wars. The US crimes are all written with blood in the globe from Aleppo in Syria to West bank in Palestine, from Caracas to Mogadishu. The

US has always militarily threatened any country that has chosen an alternative path to development away from the market economy. The story is always be our puppet, or we will bomb you into submission. In such circumstances, the DPRK has a right to develop and own nuclear warheads; that's the language the Empire understands. During the Korean war, the imperialist aggressor suffered a humiliation against the heroic people of North Korea, the USA has never forgotten or even willing to forgive the people of North Korea.

The USA is hellbent to have a regime change in North Korea; they want to install a puppet in the name of a leader. They want to introduce a market economy; they want to feed the Korean people with junk from McDonald's and make them pay for it. That is what the heroic Korean people have been resisting. The DPRK has never attacked anybody, Venezuela has never attacked anybody. It is the USA that deserves sanctions; it is them that need to stop their nuclear program. The world is under threat from western imperialism; if you look at the conservative estimates of the global nuclear warheads, you can see where the real danger is.

The US Federation of Science (FAS) estimates that in 2017 North Korea has "fissile material to potentially produce 10 to 20 nuclear warheads", even if it is strongly suspected that none can be considered ready for launch. The US possesses 6,800 nuclear heads. The French and British (respectively 300 and 215 respectively) included, NATO's nuclear forces have 7,315 nuclear warheads, of which 2,200 are ready to launch, compared to 7,000 held by the Russians, of which 1,950 are ready to launch. With Chinese (270), Pakistani (120-130), Indian (110-120) and Israeli (80), the total number of nuclear warheads is estimated to be around 15,000 by default.

The United Nations adopted the relevant Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in July; this Treaty is ignored by all nuclear powers, including members of NATO. So, where does the West get the morality to lecture the world about peace?

Q: You mentioned that the Communist Party of Kenya is an internationalist organization. Please elaborate?

A: Yes, the Communist Party of Kenya headquarters in Nairobi is a solidarity house. It is the home of the Songun study; it's the home Kenya-Venezuela solidarity committee, it's the home of the Kenya-Cuba Friendship society, it's the residence of the Kenya-Western Sahara solidarity, it is home of the friends of Palestine. It is the symbol of anti-imperialism in this part of the world. North Korean internationalism is legendary, just as Cuban internationalism is. The communist party is leading this anti-imperialist war in this part of Africa, and we are not ashamed to associate ourselves with the Songun Socialist project in North Korea.

REFLECTIONS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 17TH OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP

24 October 2017

It is a hundred years since the October Revolution that took place in Russia in 1917 after a protracted revolutionary struggle led by the Bolsheviks among them Vladimir Lenin. The October Revolution made a significant mark in the history of the world that will never disappear despite the reactionary setbacks made by capitalism and imperialism today. The waves of the revolutionary earthquake triggered by the October Revolution reached all corners of the Earth, including the African countries that include Kenya.

The struggle of the working class led by communist revolutionaries and a party rooted in Marxist-Leninist ideology triumphed by capturing state power from capitalists in Russia, for the first time since the short but significant history of the Paris Commune. It meant that the class of the workers and the majority poor exploited and oppressed became in charge of state power in Russia. Thus socialism, a more superior mode and socio-political system than that of capitalism had become a reality in the world.

The October Revolution inspired the working class, the poor, and the oppressed of all countries in the world by showing that a new and better system of life than that of capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, feudalism, and slavery was possible through the united struggle of the exploited and oppressed. Yes, it was possible for the working class and the majority in society to defeat the mighty capitalist armies and capture state power and use the power to crush the capitalists, exploiters, and oppressors. The workers and the popular masses could take charge of the politics, economics, and state affairs of their country guided by

the communist party, theory, and ideology. True, a new and better society called socialism was possible and had been born in Russia and the world by the October Revolution. Socialism was not a utopia but a scientific mode of production and system that could be built on Earth.

The October Revolution brought new state power not only in Russia but also in the world that broke the unipolar rule and power of capitalism and imperialism that had hitherto ravaged the world. From then, imperialism led by the United States of America lost the monopoly of power it had used hitherto to dominate, plunder, exploit, oppress and terrorize the working class, the majority of citizens, and countries under colonialism and imperialism. Imperialism had found its match in the form of socialist soviet power of Russia given birth by the October Revolution.

After the October Revolution, the world was now divided into two blocs representing two opposing ideological struggles. Within developed nations, it was the struggle between the reactionary capitalist class and its state and ideology versus the progressive and revolutionary classes struggling for socialism.

At the international level, it was the struggle between imperialism and socialism. Those under colonialism in Africa, Asia, and Latin America fighting for national liberation found ready moral and material support and solidarity from the Soviet Union and its socialist allies. This escalated the national struggles which brought about the independence of the countries under colonialism including those of Africa. Thus the October Revolution weakened the reactionary forces in the world while strengthening class struggles at the national and international levels.

Immediately after the October Revolution, the countries that were under Russian colonialism found their freedom and voluntarily joined Russia to form the USSR. After the Second World War, the socialist bloc expanded to include the countries of Eastern Europe, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Korea was liberated from Japanese imperialism, socialist Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was founded in 1948 starting the construction of socialism led by Kim Il Sung amidst the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle with the USA.

India was liberated from British colonialism in 1949 greatly weakening the British colonial empire which in turn helped to hasten the independence of other countries under British colonialism in the world.

The protracted Chinese national and socialist liberation struggle spearheaded by the Communist Party of China under the guidance of the gallant Chairman Mao Zedong triumphed in 1949. Thus the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and socialist forces had grown into hitherto unprecedented levels also inspired by the October Revolution.

In Latin America, the Cuban revolution led by Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and their comrades defeated the US-supported dictatorship, liberated Cuba, and started the march towards socialism in 1959. This also intensified the liberation and revolutionary struggles in South and Central America and the Caribbean nations.

In Russia, the October Revolution made rapid development progress that made the largest country in the world to be a real competing power with the US economically, scientifically, technologically, and militarily, and all this being achieved in a few decades.

When the October Revolution occurred in 1917, African countries had been under the colonialism of Western European countries. Colonialism was always rejected, resisted, and fought against in all African countries. During the era of colonialism Africans had to endure the rule by foreigners, oppression, exploitation, plunder of their natural resources, slavery, gross violations of their human rights, lack of democracy, destruction of indigenous cultures, racism and discrimination, and all sorts of humiliations, genocides, etc. Colonialism, like slavery, was one of the darkest moments of Africa's history during which European imperialism partitioned Africa awarding each imperialist European power a portion of the continent to impose their colonialism.

The October Revolution immediately brought a big boost to the national liberation movements of the African countries who found concrete moral, diplomatic, ideological, political, military, and material support from the Soviet Union, and also, particularly after the end of the Second World War in1945, from its socialist allies Eastern Europe, DPRK, China and Cuba. All this hastened the liberation of Africa from colonialism and apartheid.

After independence from colonialism, African countries, Kenya included, continued to receive intellectual and material support from socialist countries led by the USSR. Many economists, engineers, medical personnel, political scientist, and other professionals studied and trained in the universities and other academic and technical institutions in the USSR, Eastern Europe, DPRK, and China for free. Many large multipurpose development projects were built in African countries with the support of the USSR and socialist countries.

But it was in the field of ideology where the October Revolution played the biggest role in the world in general and

Africa and Kenya in particular. Until the October Revolution, the world was dominated by the reactionary ideology and praxis of capitalism and imperialism. The October Revolution more clearly than ever before defined the battlefield of ideas, between capitalist and imperialist ideology on one hand and socialist and communist ideology on the other hand. The philosophical myths created and maintained by capitalists and their intellectuals for centuries to hoodwink the exploited and oppressed of the world to maintain the status quo of capitalism and imperialism were demystified and exposed to more people than ever. The brutality and reactionary nature of capitalism and imperialism were exposed in theory and practice. The working class was now in charge of one of the most powerful state machinery in the world, the Soviet Union, from which the working class could now launch its ideological missiles against capitalism and imperialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union played a big role in spreading the theory and ideology of communism in Kenya like in other countries of Africa and the world. The USSR and other socialist countries' embassies in Kenya were always open to those who desired to get hold of communist literature and education.

As a student at the University of Nairobi in the 1980s, my comrades and I used to regularly visit the friendly communist countries' embassies to collect the literature published in Moscow and other socialist capitals. At the embassies, we received the classics of communist literature including the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. We had access to information and literature published by Progress Publishers and Novisti Publishers Moscow. We regularly collected literature from the embassies on socialism, theory, and practice dealing with contemporary

political issues in the world from communist and liberating perspectives. There were popular communist publications in the streets of Nairobi that were accessible to the popular masses. Bookshops in Nairobi, such as Wanyie Bookshop, specialized in selling communist literature, including the works of Marx, at very affordable prices.

In this regard, the October Revolution contributed a great deal towards disseminating communist ideas in Kenya. Had it not been for this, I and many people of my generation would probably not have become communists. It is thanks to the October Revolution that we were inspired to organize communist study circles, cells, and movements at the university that struggled against the dictatorial, corrupt, pro-capitalist, and pro-imperialist regime then in power in Kenya and demand alternative socialist system.

No wonder the secret police discouraged citizens from visiting the embassies of communist countries in Kenya. When I was being interrogated and tortured by the police in 1985 and 1986, part of my accusation was visiting the embassies and 'being used as a communist spy'. Of course, I used to visit the communist embassies in Nairobi very often as I also found friends and comrades there. Yet I was never a spy but a committed communist who was engaged in the struggle for social and national liberation in Kenya that would lead to socialism.

The October Revolution not only contributed to disseminating socialist ideology in Kenya but also socialist internationalism. For example, the first-ever flight I took was in 1984 by Aeroflot, the Soviet airline that used to ferry passengers to and from most capital cities of Africa. The plane took me to Moscow where I was hosted by the friendly Russian Student Union for three days. Then I travelled by Aeroflot to 17th

November Street in Prague, the capital city of Czechoslovakia, which was the headquarters of the International Union of Students. Student leaders from many countries of the world that were members of the Executive Committee of IUS and I then travelled by Czechoslovakian Airlines to Sofia in Bulgaria to attend World Students' and Youths' Festival. It was the first time I met so many people representing so many countries, cultures, and nationalities. The experience of participating in such a large and diverse gathering of people discussing world peace, socialism, and anti-imperialist solidarity made a large contribution towards shaping my communist world view and consciousness as a human being. I returned from Moscow, Prague, and Sofia a more committed communist and internationalist.

In these short notes, and observing the theme which is the significance of the October Revolution, I have not discussed the problems and contradictions within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that ultimately led to the so-called perestroika and glasnost, the climax of the processes of revisionism that brought about the restoration of capitalism in Russia and the fall of USSR and communist states of Eastern Europe. All this has been the subject of discussion by communist parties and conferences for many years and will indeed continue to be discussed. Many analyses and conclusions have been made and published concerning the subject.

In these very brief notes, I have instead chosen only to present the achievements of the October Revolution from my experiences as a communist in Kenya and Africa. I refuse to join the anti-communist propaganda that lies that the October Revolution achieved nothing and was a mistake. For I know the truth that the communist state and parties of Russia and the USSR

that were a consequence of the October Revolution, made great and irreversible contributions to human freedom and development, the effects of which were felt and remain throughout the world, including in Kenya and Africa. It is upon communists of the world to defend and consolidate the gains made by the October Revolution while learning from the mistakes made to organise and struggle for and build socialism and communism better.

ON THE DEATH OF COMRADE NELSON MANDELA - MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP
December 2013

On behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP), I convey our heartfelt condolences to the immediate and extended family of Nelson Mandela, Africa National Congress (ANC), South African Communist Party (SACP), friends and comrades of Mandela and the people of South Africa following the death of comrade Nelson Mandela. SDP joins you in mourning and celebrating the life well lived of one of the greatest sons of South Africa, Africa and the world.

Indeed, Mandela will remain one of the greatest examples of life of a patriot and revolutionary. Mandela was forced to live 27 years under psychological and physical torture, humiliation and tribulations of all sorts imposed upon him by one of the then most brutal regimes in the world. Yet, Mandela refused to betray the struggle for social and national liberation of his country. Neither did he give up hope. He was always convinced that he and his comrades were fighting for a progressive and just cause worth the sacrifice and whose victory was ultimately inevitable. And sure enough Mandela lived to see the liberation of South Africa from the inhuman apartheid system. From a revolutionary and political prisoner, Mandela emerged as the first democratically elected president of South Africa and one of the most popular statesmen in the world.

We mourn and celebrate the life of Mandela as a revolutionary: he refused to live as a coward and instead actively participated in the liberation struggle, including organising and starting armed national liberation struggle of South Africa. Mandela was ready to sacrifice his life for the just cause of

bringing democracy, racial equality and peace in his country. He was a principled man who loved life, humour, people, peace, justice and freedom. As a communist freedom fighter he was courageous, consistent, wise and principled.

But, as we mourn and celebrate the life of our comrade and father, Mandela, who will remain an example to follow in many ways, we also refuse to forget the sins committed by those who sustained the apartheid regime with the full knowledge of what it was doing to Mandela, his fellow political prisoners and the oppressed and exploited. Those who mourn him loudest today used to condemn him as a terrorist!

We remember that the capitalist and imperialist governments, particularly from the West, collaborated with the apartheid regime against the oppressed people of South Africa while condemning freedom fighters, including Mandela, as terrorists. Anti-apartheid organisations such as ANC and SACP were also condemned as terrorists by the Western regimes. Had it not been for the support given to the apartheid regime by the capitalist and imperialist regimes, Mandela would not have been forced to spend 27 years of his life languishing in prison. True, Mandela did not stay in prison for 27 years in order to show the world how it is possible to forgive his enemies. Prison is not a hotel! That is why while making Nobel-prize type eulogies on Mandela concerning his ability to forgive and reconcile with his enemies, the leaders of the capitalist and imperialist countries should also take the opportunity to apologise on behalf of their former governments to the people of Africa for betraying Mandela and the people of South Africa and Africa in the hour of need.

Africa will never forget her true friends during the hour of need. We remember the genuine solidarity offered by the people and governments of the former Soviet Union, the then socialist

Eastern European Countries, China, India, Sweden and Cuba to the liberation struggle of South Africa symbolised by Mandela. Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU)—now African Union—particularly frontline states committed their governments and people to supporting the liberation struggle of South Africa and the demand of the unconditional release of Mandela and all political prisoners. As we mourn our father and grandfather Mandela, we also appreciate the solidarity that was given by progressive mass organisations in Western countries and throughout the world to the struggle for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners and for the national liberation struggle of South Africa and Southern Africa.

Mandela made a huge contribution to the accomplishment of unimaginable revolutionary tasks of his time. However, as Mandela himself insists, he did not make the achievements only as an individual but more so as part of thousands of South African patriots and revolutionaries who were in the forefront in the struggle of the masses of South Africans. Neither was Mandela a saint. He had strengths and weaknesses that were based on the fact that Mandela was a human being who lived in definite material and historical circumstances. We can only conclude that whatever the case, Mandela and his generations accomplished the tasks of their times and brought South Africa this far forward. It is upon the present generations of South Africans and Africans to deal with the present challenges.

Talking about the challenges facing South Africa, Africa and the world today, we are worried about the emphasis being put through the eulogies on Mandela concerning his "legacy of forgiveness and reconciliation". We agree that forgiveness is a high human attribute that Mandela possessed and that is desirable. However, we believe that forgiveness should be

extended only to those who have confessed their sins, asked for forgiveness and repented. But as South Africa prepares to bury Mandela South Africa is sharply divided into classes with the few rich (the majority of whom are white) becoming richer and richer while the poor (the majority of who are black) becoming poorer and poorer. The issue of land has not been solved in favour of the landless and those communities and people that were forcefully deprived of their land by the apartheid system remain bitter.

Again, like in many African countries, former freedom fighters have renounced revolutionary ideological beliefs, abandoned the masses and joined the capitalist class to amass wealth for themselves through exploitation of the working classes. Many former comrades have betrayed the struggle and are today helping to consolidate state power in order to maintain the reactionary social and economic status quo inherited from the apartheid system. Corruption and greed among the elites has grown just as the suppression worker's and people's struggles for a just, fair and equitable system. So to tell the poor and oppressed people of South Africa to reconcile with the present situation under these circumstances is reactionary, to say the least.

On our part, we emphasise the revolutionary legacy of Mandela that teaches the oppressed and exploited wherever they are to intensify the class struggle against capitalism and imperialism in order to move towards people's democracy and power: socialism. We refuse to forgive those who deliberately seek and hold state power in order to maintain the socio-economic system of exploitation of person by person! So as we mourn Mandela and celebrate his heroic life, the struggle against the apartheid of capitalism continues in South Africa, Africa and the world.

Farewell dear comrade Mandela!

ETHNIC STRIFE, SOCIAL EXCLUSION & CORRUPTION IN EAST AFRICA. IS THERE AN INVISIBLE THIRD SIDE OF THE COIN? LESSONS FROM SOUTH SUDAN

Dr. Peter Adwok Nyaba, Member - Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)

30 July 2015

Introductory Remarks

In 1966, the Chinese Premier, Zhou Enlai made a tour of East Africa. He came to Kenya and made a statement that Kenya 'needed a revolution.' War of words ensued; the ruling elite would not hear of 'revolution'. In retrospect, given what our countries and our peoples have gone through in the last five decades, the Chinese Premier was right; sub-Sahara Africa emerging from colonialism needed revolution.

The countries of East Africa including the Sudan were without exception under British colonialism for varying periods of time. On independence, the ruling elite that inherited the colonial state had in front them only two socio-economic development trajectories open to them:

Either

They followed the road to true freedom and national sovereignty, which leads to national democratic revolution to unite the democratic and anti-imperialist forces: of peasants, workers, intelligentsia and small business and students; to place the country on non-capitalist mode of socio-economic development; construct a national commonality or identity, which trumps family, ethnic or regional tendencies.

Or

They followed the road to capitalist mode of socio-economic production and neo-colonialism; become an appendage of the

world capitalist system controlled by the World Bank and IMF, tied the country to uneven terms of trade; exploit the peasants and workers; construct instruments of repression to intimidate masses into submission and emptied the independence of its nationalist and patriotic content. ….

The political elite in these countries invariably chose the neo-colonial path to socio-economic development maintaining the link to the metropolitan countries and world capitalist system established during the colonial rule.

They organized national politics not on the basis of ideas and practical programmes for transforming the colonial state into a national democratic state encompassing all the citizens; no they organized national politics on the basis of personalities and political patronage. The result was that ethnic and religious sectarianism dominated the political parties e.g. KANU and KADU (Kenya), UPC (Uganda), UP, NUP, PDP and LP (Sudan).

The ruling elite promoted patrimonialism, which engendered patronage and clientelism leading to the emergence of such syndromes as 'baba ya taifa', 'baba ya wanainchi', 'big tribes' 'small tribes', tribal alliances and associations, etc., and adopted trans-class solidarities—what is usually known as tribalism; ethnicized the national politics particularly in the context of struggle and completion for power and wealth giving rise to 'tribal' alliances and solidarity groups; empowered their tribesmen and women economically; located projects like schools, health centres, roads, bridges, etc., to their home turfs; engaged in land grabbing; encouraged tribal conflicts, entrenched and enhanced corruption in government and society and the culture of graft.

The national economy remained extractive tied to the metropolitan market just to produce raw materials: cotton, tea,

coffee, pineapples, banana, hides & skins, etc. The unfair terms of trade meant exploitation of our peasants and workers as they paid more for the industrial goods and received less for the agricultural products.

The state in East Africa, except in the Sudan, made it impossible for workers and peasants to organize themselves for collective bargaining of their economic, civil and political rights rendering them indifferent to the social and political engineering of the state. In the Sudan workers and farmers trade union, as well as the student, movements were well organized and developed and the political actions led to the popular uprisings that brought down the two military regimes of Abboud (1964) and Nimeri (1985).

This political configuration generated contradictions between the neo-colonial state and the masses of the people who wanted to liberate themselves from economic exploitation, marginalization, social discrimination, and political exclusion and/or repression. These countries went through crises of successful and failed military coups. Sudan (1958, 1969, 1989), coup attempts in Tanzania and Kenya were foiled through the intervention of British forces stationed therein (1964, 1982), in Uganda there was a palace (1966) and military (1971) coups; in the Sudan armed rebellions (1955 and 1983), mass uprising against military dictatorship (1964 and 1985), armed insurgency in Kenya (1964-1968) violent change of government, state induced ethnic strife in Kenya (1992, 1997), elections induced ethnic conflicts, land grabbing, pauperization of the masses, crime and insecurity in the urban centres; livestock rustling and abject poverty in the rural communities, etc.

It could be said with confidence that the social, economic and political straits our countries and people have gone through since

independence, and which manifest in many forms perpetuated by the regimes in power like corruption in government and society, political repression manifested in the brutality of the police and security agents; economic exploitation, social discrimination, abject poverty, landlessness, ignorance, disease, crime etc., are all pangs of neo-colonial socio-economic development trajectory our leaders took on independence.

It was a conscious decision to maintain the colonial state and its institutions that entrenched exploitation, societal domination, brutalization, dehumanization, syndromes of inferiority, fear of the state and state officials particularly the police and the army; and on the other hand to forestall the revolution; suppress and delay the emergence of the national democratic forces. This explains the prompt intervention of the British to quell the military coups that occurred in East Africa in 1964. After that they trained the security and intelligence agencies the techniques of torture of political dissidents.

Experience from South Sudan

The SPLM is a case of failure to learn from its own or mistakes of others; as a result it has condemned itself and the people of South Sudan to perpetually repeat the same mistake over and over again.

Until 9 July 2011, South Sudan was part of the Sudan. In fact, the history of modern Sudan starts with the Turco-Egyptian occupation of northern Sudan in 1821. Sudan became a Condominium of the United Kingdom and Egypt following its re-conquest and defeat of the Mahdists State in the Sudan (1881-1898). The Mahdists revolution overthrew the Turco-Egyptian state (1824-1885). The Sudanese people voted for and declared independence of the country in the Parliament on December 19, 1955 and just requested the Condominium powers to leave on 31

December 1955. So the Sudanese people woke up free and independent on 1 January 1956.

The Arab dominated northern political elite, which inherited the colonial state, organized national politics along religious sectarian lines and defined Sudan along two parameters of Arabism and Islam. They considered the Sudanese nationality as a transition to integration into Arab Umma and Islam. This neo-colonial political dispensation precipitated two civil wars (1955 and 1983) in Southern Sudan, which constituted the weakest link in the oppressive, exploitative and discriminative system instituted by the Arab dominated northern political elite.

The SPLM/SPLA waged a relentless 'revolutionary' armed struggle against the regimes in Khartoum. Comprising predominantly of the peasants, workers, students, intellectuals, military officers and men/women—constituting the elements of the national democratic revolution, the SPLM/A emerged from the poorest, economically underdeveloped, politically backward parts of the Sudan. However, and in spite of this reality, the SPLM/SPLA leadership raised socialist slogans and immediately linked up, albeit for a short time, with the anti-imperialist, and the national democratic revolution forces in regions of the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes: EPLF (Eritrea), Derg, TPLF, OLF (Ethiopia), NRM (Uganda) and RPF (Rwanda).

In spite of the high-sounding socialist sloganeering, the SPLM/SPLA leadership did not start from a correct analysis of the objective reality obtaining in the country. A revolutionary leader must start from concrete reality of his country to inform his political objectives. This anomaly was to have a negative impact on the development of the SPLM/SPLA into a genuine national liberation movement, and driver of the national democratic revolution in the Sudan. The SPLM had no political

ideology and therefore its leaders were not able to marry theory and practice in the execution of the revolutionary armed struggle; simply there was no theory and therefore could not craft a political programme for transforming the oppressive reality which submerged the masses. The SPLM contended with the populist slogans it raised only for mobilization and recruitment into its ranks and file.

The SPLM/SPLA remained a militarist organization. It shunned political education and organization of the masses, preventing the emergence of social awareness and political consciousness. It is not possible to engage in political action without political organization. Similarly, no liberation can occur without political consciousness; being its main tools. It would be like liberation ourselves with the tools of domestication. Thus instead of mobilizing the masses in order to take charge of their destiny the SPLM neutralized them and rendered them spectators in their own course. Consequently, the SPLM/SPLA produced a political military elite completely alienated from the masses.

The SPLM's lack of institutions and no democratic structures meant centralization and personification of SPLM public power and authority. This was to be the source of internal political contradictions that more often than not were resolved militarily through internecine fighting, which permeated and filtered down to society along ethnic fault lines. The split with Anya-nya II (1983/4), the Nasir Declaration and the sweeping revolution (1991), the Yei crisis (2004) and the split (2013) that now precipitated the current civil war.

The lack of unifying political ideology meant that the dominant relations therein were based not on ideology or politics but on patrimonialism which entrenched political patronage and clientelism. This internal situation in the SPLM/SPLA coupled

with external factors e.g., the collapse of Derg in Ethiopia, the SPLM/SPLA main benefactor and the collapse of the Socialist camp that witnessed a shift in the alignment of forces in the region, triggered a paradigm shift in the SPLM/SPLA from 'New Sudan' to 'Southern Sudan'. From 1991, Southern Sudan, instead of the New Sudan became the main thrust of the SPLM/SPLA political and military struggle. The concept of a socialist secular New Sudan disappeared imperceptibly from the written and oral literature of the SPLM.

The split within the SPLM/SPLA in 1991 and the internecine fighting that followed impacted negatively on the SPLM/SPLA shifting the balance of forces in favour of the National Islamic front's (NIF) government enabling it to recapture large areas the SPLA had liberated. The regional attempts to resolve the conflict began in earnest in December 1993. By September 1994 the IGAD sub-Committee on Conflict in Sudan, Chaired by Kenya had produced the Declaration of Principles (DoPs) as the basis for negotiating the peace. In the end, the SPLM opted for compromise with the NCP and the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) was initialled in Nairobi on 9 January 2005, which stopped the war. The CPA provided for the exercise by the people of Southern Sudan of their right to self-determination and on 9 July 2011 South Sudan became independent.

This independence marked a new beginning that makes South Sudan and its people join the people of East Africa together in a journey of destiny notwithstanding the near five decades time gap. A footnote to this is that the British had since 1932 wanted to annex South Sudan to the British East Africa. This was suddenly reversed in 1946 due to its interests in Egypt (Suez Canal). It seems South Sudan is following the path trodden by Kenya and Uganda in terms of its neo-liberal policies pursued by

the ruling elite. Barely three years into its independence, South Sudan is embroiled in a bitter civil war. What happened?

The bourgeois petit at the helm of the people's movement, by their social nature and class interest can never provide successful leadership to a revolutionary people's movement. Somewhere, in the course of war of liberation they recovered their mental compass and retraced their social roots. Wherever, the bourgeois petit led an anti-colonial, anti-imperialist people's movement they sooner than later recoiled towards the bourgeoisie ideology to reverse the gains and victories the people have achieved in form of raised social awareness and political consciousness. In the word of Amilcar Cabral, the bourgeois petit can successfully lead only if they commit 'class suicide' to resurrect in the guise of revolutionary peasants and revolutionary workers or intellectuals. This is pertinent in the case of South Sudan.

The SPLM/SPLA epitomizes that notion of bourgeois petit, at the helm of a people's revolutionary armed struggle, having refused to commit class suicide and consequently aborted the national democratic revolution. As a result, the SPLM leadership jettisoned the vision of 'New Sudan' together with the concepts of freedom, social justice, equality, and prosperity for all, encapsulated in that vision. The SPLM political military in alliance with the most reactionary elements of the NCP regime, other Southern political parties and similar elements in the East Africa region have instituted the most corrupt, totalitarian genocidal system unprecedented in South Sudan. South Sudan is now a police state. How do we explain this contradiction?

The mistake of belittling revolutionary politics in the conduct of war of national liberation produced messengers at variant with the message they carried. It produced an anti-revolution caste that saw its social and economic interests as nothing but looting the

resources to enrich themselves. In ten years and nearly **thirty billion US dollars** of oil revenue, the SPLM government of South Sudan did nothing to transform the lives of the people of South Sudan. On the contrary the bourgeois petit have stashed the money away into foreign lands.

South Sudanese political and military elite own real estates in Nairobi, Kampala, Khartoum, Melbourne, Silicon Valley in California, USA, London and Khartoum, etc. South Sudan has only one 193 KM tarmac road linking Juba to Nimule at the Ugandan borders built with aid money. Juba Airport surpasses Nairobi Wilson Airport in the number of light aircraft servicing the towns of South Sudan because there are no paved roads. A journey by car to Yei one hundred miles south-west of Juba takes about ten hours. Juba is called 'generators' city' because there is no single power supply. Children in Juba born in 2005 are growing up without the knowledge of tap water. Juba imports everything including fish from East Africa mainly Uganda. South Sudanese in their tens of thousands study in Uganda, Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia even at primary level because there are no schools. It was better during the war, the SPLM with the help of NGOs did run schools.

Throughout South Sudan insecurity including armed robbery and ethnic strife characterised the interim period particularly in Jonglei, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal to the point that it jeopardized the conduct of the referendum. The 'one country two systems' provided by the CPA during the interim period resulted in independence of South Sudan. It however entrenched in power in the Sudan the oppressive National Congress Party (NCP) system while in South Sudan it produced a mirror image repressive regime in Juba. Salva Kiir constructed a system

representing the social, economic and political interests of a sub ethnic elite hailing from his home turf in Warrap state

The situation was such that war had to break out. The fundamental contradiction that triggered the war in 1983 had not been resolved. The same mistake the SPLM did compromising with the NCP in the CPA (2005) is in the making right now in the name of anticipated 'IGAD compromise peace agreement on the South Sudan conflict'. The SPLM/A in opposition failed to transform the civil war, which although essentially a political contradiction between the reform group represented by Dr. Riek Machar and the group for status quo represented by President Salva Kiir Mayardit, was triggered by the massacre of ethnic Nuers in Juba in December 2013, into a revolution to encompass the democratic forces in the country.

The IGAD formula will stop the war for thirty months, the duration of the transitional period, but the war may break out again because the political objectives: social justice, equality, freedom will not be met by this compromise notwithstanding that the time is very short. This brings me to the theme of this panel discussion.

There Is No Third Side of the Coin

To answer the question whether or not there is a third side of the coin we in East African countries fail to see, I would say there is no third side because there are only two sides of the coin. There is capitalist and non-capitalist mode of social production. This brings us back to what Zhou Enlai said, 'Kenya needs a revolution'; a revolution which puts the masses of our people at the centre of our socio-economic and political discourse; a revolution that puts them in control of the means of production particularly land; a revolution that transforms their means and

relations of production; this is the national democratic revolution. It may be peaceful or violent but must be democratic.

The national democratic revolution is the continuation of the anti-colonial anti-imperialist struggle our people undertook to free themselves from colonialism and its institutions. Our people struggled for freedom to enable a return to human history as free people; hitherto we were part of the European history. The national democratic revolutionary forces comprising the peasants, the pastoralists, the workers, the intelligentsia, the small business not linked to world capitalism and the students need to mobilise, organize and coalesce together around a revolutionary programme for transforming the colonial legacy in the country.

The principal contents of the revolutionary programme are:

- Construct a national democratic state that is free from colonial legacy in which the masses enjoy freedom, equality, social justice and are able to create wealth for improving quality of life; a conscious and active mass able to build bridges of solidarity with anti-imperialist forces in the world;
- Emancipation of the economy from world capitalism by pursuing an non-capital mode of production in which the masses are in control of the means of production;
- Address the national/ethnicity question in order to resolve this problem of disparity and uneven development by according each and every ethnic group their right to participate in the national social, cultural, economic and political life of the country. The national democratic state will ensure the visibility and audibility of all nationalities/ethnicities and provide them with material

and technological resources to build their languages and cultures.

- Launch agrarian reforms involving addressing the issue of land and its equitable distribution, sustainable utilization, etc., and launch a revolution in agriculture (crop and livestock sectors) in order to modernize it benefiting from the development in science and technology.
- Launch an industrial revolution; building power and transport infrastructure as prelude to industrialization and all out development of the country.
- Spark a cultural revolution through literacy campaign, political education to raise self-awareness and political consciousness leading to change of attitudes and perception of reality. The fundamental goal of the national democratic revolution is the emergence of an individual unfettered by archaic tradition and customs; and to promote the emergence of national commonalities that trump tendency to family, clan, ethnicity and region.

In a nutshell, the national democratic revolution and political programme for transforming the lives of our people is the only way out may be could be the third side of the coin. The different levels of social, economic and political development of our countries will dictate the methodology and tools of struggle for achieving the objectives of the national democratic revolution. The credo of Pan-African movement is ‘organize do not agonize. Let us organize!! Thank you very much.

STATEMENT ON THE SYRIAN SITUATION

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - SDP
15 September 2014

The likelihood of a direct imperialist war on Syria has been going up by the day, with the United States and its allies coming up with all sorts of justifications to bomb Syria back to stone age, just like they have recently done in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. It is no secret that the USA and its allies; Israel, Britain and France have since the start of the conflict in Syria supported the rebels in Syria militarily, financially, logistically, strategically and most importantly, propaganda-wise against a legitimate government in Syria.

What is even worse is the fact that most of these rebels are linked to the Al Qaeda terrorist network that the USA claims to fight against, and has even used as an excuse of invading other countries in the past. No government in the world can allow armed rebels, whether progressive or retrogressive as is the case in Syria, to rein havoc in its territory without itself retaliating militarily.

The claims that the Assad Army has used chemical weapons against the rebels have not been established, and even if the use of chemicals weapons is established, it will still be important to establish who actually used them. It would be stupid for the Assad regime to use chemical weapons on its people, knowing very well the repercussions of such an act, especially now that the whole world is looking at them. The US has in the past lied to the world into believing that Iraq had 'Weapons of Mass destruction' and hence the reason for their destructive invasion in Iraq, yet the imperialist powers raised no fingers when Israel actually uses chemical weapons to kill the Palestinian people, children included.

The USA, Israel, Britain, France and their imperialist have stock piles of Weapons of Mass Destruction, including Nuclear weapons and chemical weapons. Neither the Syrian Rebels nor the Syrian Government manufactured the Chemical weapons that were allegedly used in Syria. It is these imperialist countries that manufacture and continue manufacturing all the dangerous weapons that threaten the existence of the world as we know it.

Why is it that the USA and its imperialist allies have always opposed the demands that all weapons of mass destruction in the world be eliminated? Why do they continue to make and stockpile these weapons?

If the intention of the USA using war was just to overthrow leaders and to "protect the civilians" as they have done in Afghanistan, Iraq and in Libya, then by now they would have learnt that their wars only cause more suffering to the people, and their Wars have failed to achieve Peace, Democracy, Human Rights and Social Progress. The fact that they continue with imposing wars on other people even with these results just proves that their interest are different from what they claim.

It is sad, that the person leading the calls for war, is none other the Nobel Peace Laureate Obama, who knows very well that his war will murder many innocent people and trigger a deadly situation in the whole of middle east region. Imperialism preaches about democracy and human rights, yet in actual fact uses all means, including Wars to impose its will upon other nations. In fact, imperialism is about War.

Every country has a right to self-determination and sovereignty. It is not up to the USA and its allies to determine the course that Syria takes, or who the President of Syria will be; That is the role of the Syrian people. This begs the question; Why is the USA and its allies refusing a democratic and peaceful

solution that will involve free and fair elections overseen by the International Community?

Both the US President and the British Prime Minister referred the Syrian matter to their Parliaments, instead of allowing for the matter to be discussed at the UN. What is the role of the UN, if the USA and its allies continue to use it when they wish, and ignore at the same time with impunity?

It is not for the SDP to defend Assad or the Rebels. Our stand is to expose the lies that Imperialism is acting in Syria in the interest of the Syrian people, peace and human rights in the world. The problem in Syria is being escalated by Imperialism that is using the Rebels in Syria to destroy and weaken Syria for the benefit of Israel. That is why instead of pursuing peaceful solutions for Syria, the USA and its allies want War.

The people of Syria should be allowed to determine their own destiny.

STATEMENT OF ALNEF ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SYRIA

Social Democratic Party of Kenya, Member - ALNEF
4 October 2015

The Africa Left Networking Forum (ALNEF) has been following keenly and with a lot of concern the developments within the crisis in Syria, which began two years ago as a political unrest, but has now taken a militaristic path.

The ALNEF is also aware of the present talk and intent of some world military powers namely the United States of America (USA), France, Britain, and Israel among others to start an aggression war against Syria, with the aim of overthrowing the Assad regime, in favor of the Syrian Rebels.

This talk and intention to unilaterally start a war against Syria is worrying, especially given the fact that this will not be the first time that such a war has being launched by the USA and its allies against other countries in the world, with every intervention ending in terrible results.

The ALNEF considers any form of military aggression against Syria by the few world military powers as unjust, ill-fated and disastrous continuation of Imperialism in the world, with a potential of starting a catastrophic war in the whole Middle Eastern region.

From the experiences in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, the world has learnt that the best ways to resolve such conflicts in the world is through political and peaceful channels, and never through wars of aggression that only end up making matters worse.

The ALNEF also condemns the double standards that the USA and its allies have been having in Syrian conflict, where instead of searching for a peaceful solution, they have gone ahead

and supported the Syrian rebels financially, militarily, and also through their powerful propaganda machineries of world media, while at the same time commenting on the issue as if they were a neutral entity.

The ALNEF condemns any use of chemical weapons in Syria, and supports the current investigations being undertaken by the UN to establish whether Sarin gas was used, and also to establish who used them.

The ALNEF also reiterates its position that no country, or group of countries should start a war against Syria, whichever the results of chemical weapons use investigations are, and that the UN and other respectable institutions should continue pushing for a peaceful solution.

The ALNEF also notes that while there is a consensus that chemical and nuclear weapons pose a great danger to humanity and the world as we know it, a few countries have continued to manufacture and develop them, ignoring the constant call to rid the world of all chemical and nuclear weapons. The fact that Britain confirmed that they have been selling chemical weapons to Syria just shows how dire the situation is.

The ALNEF would like to add its voice against the manufacture and development of all chemical weapons and weapons of mass destruction by any country, and also calls for the elimination of all these weapons.

The ALNEF insists on a peaceful solution of the Syrian conflict, and calls for the immediate halt of external support being given by the Imperialist countries to the Syrian rebels.

The ALNEF emphasis that Syria is a sovereign country, and that no other country has the right to determine who the President or the leadership of Syria people will be, other than the people of Syria themselves.

The ALNEF would also like to laud the calls for peace and sovereignty in Syria, from thousands of organisations, institutions, and millions of people across the globe. It is due to this continued pressure, including the internal pressure from the American people that has forced President Barrack Obama to postpone the invasion of the USA in Syria.

HUGO CHÁVEZ FRÍAS – A TRIBUTE

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - KVSFC
5 March 2014

Comrades and friends, we are gathering here at the Kenya National Theatre today to commemorate the life of one of the greatest revolutionary heroes of our time, comrade Hugo Rafael Chavez Frias, simply famous as Hugo Chavez. We remember him as a fighter for the poor and oppressed people of Venezuela, Latin America and the world. We also remember Chavez as of Africa's friends and comrades to emerge as a leader of South America.

Comrade Chavez was born on 28 July 1954 and died in 5 March 2013 after a long brave battle with cancer. Actually, we are not sure whether he died a natural death or whether he died from the disease induced by the enemies of the Bolivarian revolution—the capitalists of Venezuela or the imperialists lead by the United States of America who hated him with an evil passion. All we are sure of is that after he came to power in 1999 up to the time of his death comrade Chavez lived for the struggle for the freedom and development of Venezuela and humanity. Chavez was always the champion of the poor and the majority and took many heroic risks and personal sacrifices in the life of a revolutionary he believed in and lived. As President of Venezuela and socialist party, his political, economic, social and cultural policies were for building the Bolivarian revolution to create and enhance the material and political conditions for freedom, justice and a humane society that he believed could only be realized in socialism and in fighting and defeating imperialism and neocolonialism in the world.

Venezuela is country endowed with rich natural resources, particularly petroleum. But for decades the natural resources only

benefited foreign imperialists especially from the US and the greedy and brutal comprador bourgeoisie class of Venezuela who controlled state, political and economic power on behalf of imperialism. Through the colonial, neocolonial and dictatorial systems imposed upon the country like also in many so called Third World countries, the people of Venezuela suffered poverty, ignorance, disease, hunger, violations of human rights and all the manifestations of underdevelopment while their rich resources were pillaged, and squandered by imperialists and a few rich families of Venezuela allied with the neocolonial system against their country and people. The Bolivarian revolution established by Venezuelan patriots and revolutionaries founded and spearheaded by Chavez until his death was about replacing the reactionary systems with the progressive system of using the human and natural resources of the country to end imperialist domination and to empower all the people of Venezuela politically, economically, socially and culturally.

It is for this reason that the Bolivarian revolution nationalized the petroleum and other natural resources-based industries. Chavez and his government also embarked on implementing programs and policies of nationalizing and socializing other key sectors of the economy and putting them in the hands of the state and working class and majority of the people of Venezuela. The Bolivarian revolution ensured that for the first time in the history of Venezuela the resources of the country were used to fight poverty and underdevelopment. Despite organized imperialist propaganda to the contrary, the world is witness to the fact that the Bolivarian revolution created an independent and sovereign nation that has won the admiration of not only world revolutionaries but also people still under capitalist and imperialist's domination and who desire freedom and

independence of their countries, including from Kenya and Africa.

Under Chavez and the Bolivarian revolution, many social programs including of education, housing, health, nutrition, participatory democracy, human rights, environment, gender equality and poverty eradication were initiated and implemented. These programs achievements of the leadership of Chavez were recognized and appreciated even by the United Nations' agencies. In fact, it is because of this that Venezuela became famous throughout the world as an anti-imperialist and socialist oriented country that had regained its independence and was marching along the road of socialism. A philosopher of revolution, Chavez was a great reader, thinker and writer of socialist ideas that he applied to deal with the problems of building socialism and fighting imperialism under the historical and material conditions of Venezuela, Latin America and the world during his time. World socialist revolution will continue to benefit from his contribution in this regard, socialism of the 20th Century.

A socialist revolutionary, Chavez was also one of the greatest internationalists of our time. He shared the natural resources of Venezuela, particularly petroleum, with Cuba and the countries of Latin America and even Africa. The people of Cuba, for example, will never forget Chavez and the Bolivarian revolution for the socialist solidarity they extended to each other which helped their survival amidst the brutal economic, financial and commercial blockades imposed by US imperialism against their countries. The friendship and comradeship between Chavez and Fidel Castro and their governments, for example, is legendary.

Chavez was also a great supporter and fighter of the just causes of the people and countries of the world struggling for

freedom and independence from colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racism and imperialism. He always called for the strengthening of the non-aligned movement countries and the unity of the 'Third World' nations for an alternative just world economic system. Chavez was a vehement supporter of the struggle of the Palestine and Western Sahara people and put a lot of resources in solidarity with them. Incidentally, for his solidarity with Palestine and Iran against imperialism and reactionary Zionism, the oppressors of the Palestine people loathed Chavez. At the same time, Chavez was also always thinking about Africa. He initiated and implemented foreign policy of forging close links between Venezuela, Latin America and Africa. It is for this reason that there are solidarity with Venezuela organizations in many countries of Africa, including Kenya.

Being a socialist revolutionary leader, Chavez was made one of greatest enemies by the comprador capitalists of Venezuela and imperialists led by the United States of America. The United States government declared cold and hot war against Chavez and the Bolivarian revolution. They used economic sabotage, propaganda, attempted coups, contraband trade, violence, crime, blockades of all sorts, assassinations, bourgeois democracy, etc., to fight Chavez and the Bolivarian revolution. But comrade Chavez never feared to participate in the internal and external class struggles on behalf of the popular masses of Venezuela and humanity as a whole.

Comrade Hugo Chavez died as a socialist revolutionary. Despite the 'victory' the stooges of imperialists in the parliamentary elections held last year, comrade Nicolas Maduro—the successor of Chavez—is still the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. The class struggle in

Venezuela continues to unfold in many forms. Since the struggle against capitalism and imperialism is long, hard and protracted and proceeds in zigzags the people of Venezuela are learning lessons of consolidating the revolutionary gains they made under comrade Chavez and continued under Maduro. In the future, they will not trust bourgeois elections that favor the reactionary classes, they will not participate in the elections imposed by the reactionary oppressors and traitors of Venezuela with their imperialist masters and collaborators that are aimed at killing the legacy of Simon Bolivar, Hugo Chavez and the Bolivarian revolution.

And in all this, the Venezuelan people will not allow the legacy of Simon Bolivar, Hugo Chavez and the Bolivarian revolution to die just because imperialism's puppets have managed to rig themselves to parliament through elections held under the state of war they imposed with the assistance of their imperialist masters.

Such people as Chavez rarely emerge in history. And when they do they leave a significant mark in history. Such was Chavez. The KVSFC, Kenyan and African revolutionaries will never forget Chavez. For we cannot afford to forget our own. Chavez was and remains our own. We valued him, we loved him and we shall cherish his name and legacy forever.

Long live Hugo Chavez!
Long live Maduro!
Long live the Bolivarian Revolution!
Long live anti-imperialist solidarity!
Long live socialism!

MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE PRESIDENT, GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA AS THEY PREPARE FOR THE DECEMBER 6, 2015 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP
6 November 2015

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP), being a committed friend and comrade of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela first led by the late President Hugo Chavez and now by President Nicolas Maduro, follows closely the unfolding revolutionary process happening in the great land of Simon Bolivar the liberator. The Bolivarian revolution is not only a great inspiration to the progressive and anti-imperialist struggle in Kenya in particular and Africa in general but also to the forces of peace, social progress and socialism in the world. In this respect, we regard the Bolivarian revolution as our own and identify with it both in words and deeds. This is because the Bolivarian revolution is an expression and implementation of the wishes and aspirations of the exploited and oppressed people and nations of the world. It is the revolution that belongs not only to Venezuela and Latin America where it is based but also to all of humanity.

SDP is aware about the preparations for the national elections in Venezuela that will take place in December this year. We know that the preparations of the elections are taking place amidst the sharp class struggles that are part and parcel of life in Venezuela. Even as the government of the democratically elected President Maduro is making preparations for free, fair and democratic elections the right wing and neo-fascist forces are organizing and carrying out hostile activities in the streets of the

capital city of Venezuela, Caracas, and other cities and places of the country. The reactionary and undemocratic activities are being organized against the democratically elected government that is committed to the welfare of all the people of Venezuela and to the principles of multiparty democracy. The counter-revolutionary forces that were defeated through democratic elections are opposed to the socialist policies being implemented by the socialist government of comrade Maduro. Given the fact that the Bolivarian revolutionary government respects and exercise the rule of law, democracy and human rights, it allows the demonstration to take place unhindered by the security forces.

However, as the past and present history of the country has shown, the right-wing forces that are supported by imperialism led by the United States of America violate the principle of the right and obligations of peaceful demonstrations and activities. Apart from false and vile propaganda against the government, they also resort to acts of violence and terror that cause deaths of people. SDP continues to condemn these inhuman and undemocratic acts of the right-wing forces of Venezuela that are being encouraged by imperialism that seeks to restore the old order of neocolonialism and unbridled capitalism in Venezuela at all costs. The counterrevolutionary forces lost to President Maduro and his socialist coalition in free and fair elections. They therefore have no right to prevent the government from implementing its social and economic policies sanctioned by the people of Venezuela with their votes. They must allow President Maduro to carry out the mandate conferred to him by the people of Venezuela that include organizing free, fair and democratic parliamentary elections in December this year.

We reiterate: SDP is aware of the sharp class struggles going on in Venezuela today: between the few rich and the majority

poor, the elites and the working class, the former rich landlords and peasants, the exploiters and the exploited, the revolutionary forces and counterrevolutionary forces. After the triumph of the Bolivarian revolution led by former President Hugo Chavez, the reactionary classes that exploited, oppressed and betrayed to imperialism the majority of the citizens of Venezuela for many years, began to lose their ill-gotten privileges. They are bitter and are using all means possible to return to power, including false propaganda through the reactionary local and foreign media; economic sabotage that include hording essential commodities; crime, violence and terrorism. These reactionary forces are supported by US imperialism and her allies that have lost the power to control and pillage the economy and natural resources—especially oil—of Venezuela.

Comrade Nicolas Maduro who was elected democratically to form and lead the government continues with the socialist policies started by comrade Hugo Chavez. These are policies that have empowered the poor and majority to exercise their right to accrue benefits from the economy and resources of their country. The revolutionary government is implementing progressive land reforms and also educational, housing, health, poverty eradication and social security programs amidst the sabotage of the reactionary forces inside and outside the country. President Maduro and his government are famous for exposing and struggling against capitalism and imperialism not only in Latin America but also in the world. The government that is in power in Venezuela today is in solidarity with all people struggling for a peaceful, just, equitable socialist world order. It is for these reasons that President Maduro and the Bolivarian revolution is being sabotaged and fought tooth and nail by the reactionary forces inside and outside Venezuela. It is also for the same

reasons that all progressive and revolutionary forces of the world are at the moment in solidarity with the progressive and revolutionary forces of Venezuela united around the Bolivarian revolutionary government.

SDP reiterates its solidarity with President Maduro, his government and people, as they exercise their legitimate right to govern Venezuela and to implement their socialist policies. We call upon all progressive people in Kenya and Africa to also express solidarity with the Bolivarian revolution at the time when it is consolidating and defending its revolution even while organizing the December national elections.

Past history of Venezuela and also the world has revealed that capitalists and imperialists only pay lip service to democracy and elections. Capitalists and imperialists use all means possible including lies, false propaganda, all manner of corruption, violence and sabotage of all sorts to force democracy and elections to maintain or bring them into power. Capitalists and imperialists consider elections to be free and fair only when they maintain, or brings them or their allies, in power. It is for this reason that SDP calls upon all progressive and democratic forces in Kenya, Africa and the world to support the government of Venezuela in its efforts of organizing free, fair and peaceful elections in December. We must demand that the people of Venezuela should be allowed to determine their destiny without violence and the interference of imperialism led by the USA.

SDP wishes the coalition of socialist parties and movements of Venezuela success in the December elections.

Long live the Bolivarian revolution!
Long live peace and democratic elections in Venezuela!
Long live international solidarity for the Bolivarian revolution!
Long live socialism!

THE CASE FOR VENEZUELA, AN IDEOLOGICAL WAR ROOTED IN THE DEEP-SEATED IMPERIALIST MINDSET

Otiato Opali & Suleiman Ongara, Party Organizers - CPK

5 September 2020

With the levels of inequality growing starker by the day, the resurgence of the class struggle and the growing support for socialism in the working class is developing the world over. Runaway consumerism, a climate crisis, and a global pandemic have brought to the fore the glaring pitfalls of the capitalist system.

Nowhere is this truer than in Latin America, where some 650 million people confront the deepest social inequality on the planet.

From the CIA's backhanded operations to overthrow popular socialist leaders in Latin America to Cuba's socialist revolution which overthrew the pro-American dictator Batista, United States of America's foreign policy in Latin America has continued to fail. Enter Venezuela and the water gets murkier.

Venezuela's case is somehow a case study into how United States (U.S.) capitalist interests can ravage a State that is not toeing the line of imperialist interests. Venezuela was once a darling of the U.S. as was Cuba once. This was the time when U.S. and foreign companies had a field day in running the Venezuelan economy.

However, after economic hardships brought about by neo-liberalism in the 1980s and 90s, the Venezuelan people put Hugo Chavez in power. Through people-centred policies, Chavez elevated the Venezuelan economy by nationalizing major oil companies eventually driving out western companies that bought

into the privatisation of the seventies and eighties to make a killing out of the people's resources.

The overthrow of the capitalist government not only marked an end to the West's grip on Venezuela's natural resources, but it also marked the beginning of the war on Venezuela this time waged on the economic and political front. However, Hugo Chavez was steadfast and Venezuelans stuck with him throughout western sanctions to the chagrin of corporate interests who still wanted a way back into Venezuela.

The latest elections held in Venezuela are a clear indication of the West's incessant itch to interfere with nations that choose the socialist path to development. After openly disregarding Venezuela's constitutional autonomy by their refusal to recognise the democratically elected President Nicholas Maduro, the United States has imposed a total embargo on Venezuela while the European Union has imposed more sanctions. So far, the West has not made any attempt to disguise their intentions to oust President Nicolas Maduro and replace him with Juan Guaido, an obvious puppet.

The United States under Donald Trump has been breathing fire on the Venezuelan Government and at times stating that they will consider intervening militarily in Venezuela 'if necessary'. The former Secretary of State John Bolton frequently and openly encouraged generals in the Venezuelan army to overthrow Maduro.

Early July 2020, the UK High Court ruled against Venezuela's Government in a legal battle over access to $1bn of gold stored in the Bank of England. In its ruling, the court said that the UK had unequivocally recognized opposition leader Juan Guaido as president, rather than President Nicolas Maduro.

While denouncing his Presidency, the UK is hosting Maduro's ambassador who represents her country at the official Venezuelan residence in London and directs the staff of the embassy while the UK's ambassador is also currently stationed at Caracas to maintain and develop relations between the UK and Venezuela led by Maduro's government. Talk about a foot in mouth situation.

For the West, Venezuela presents a good opportunity to re-introduce a capitalist system and touch base with resources long lost. However, Venezuela is not up for sale to the highest bidder. It is a real place, full of real people who are undergoing an unprecedented crisis.

As a result of the West's insatiable greed and punitive sanctions, lack of basic amenities and services are rife in Venezuela. In the long run, it is the working masses of Venezuela who have known and witnessed an economic war waged on them by western powers who do not respect their sovereign right to elect the leaders they want and to produce within a system of their choice.

This multipronged war on Venezuela is being aided by multinational corporations who are still bitter at being shown the door during the Bolivarian Revolution led by Hugo Chavez. To add salt to the injury, the economic sanctions imposed by the West haven't been authorized by the United Nations' Security Council.

Without the cover of the Charter of the United Nations, the sanctions are effectively illegal and more so because they obstruct food and medicine imports which means they violate international humanitarian and human rights laws especially during the coronavirus pandemic.

In the West's grand scheme of things, Venezuela is viewed as a symbol of an opposing system that must be made to fail by all means to prove the superiority of capitalism over socialism, but this is where they go wrong.

Even amidst this extremely brutal imperialist economic, political, financial and commercial blockade, the Venezuelan socialists and patriots are resisting and fighting against all foreign domination and against restoration of capitalism. A people and a state that is struggling will ultimately triumph if not today, tomorrow.

We appeal to Kenyans, Africans and all progressive and anti-imperialist organisations globally to condemn the sanctions on Venezuela and to also condemn the blockade on Cuba. It is only through solidarity at an international level that imperialism can once and for all be defeated.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA EXPRESSES CONDOLENCES TO THE PSUV AND THE PEOPLE OF VENEZUELA ON THE ASSASSINATION OF COMRADE ROBERT SERRA

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
1 October 2014

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya is shocked by the news of the assassination of PSUV Youngest Member of Parliament, comrade Robert Serra.

We condemn this dastardly act in the strongest possible terms, since it is a blow not only to the Chavistas in Venezuela, but also to Socialists throughout the world.

This assassination is a continuation of counter revolutionary actions against the leadership of the PSUV and President Nicholas Maduro.

We hope that the murderers and their sponsors will be brought to justice, and we also hope that the Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela will be intensified so as to completely crush all counter revolutionary elements in Venezuela and beyond.

Long live Comrade Robert Serra!

MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE LAUNCHING OF THE MIN PLUS MEDIA IN SOUTH KOREA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP; Executive committee member - ALNEF

30 March 2016

On behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) I send fraternal revolutionary greetings to you comrades in Seoul, South Korea, as you launch The Min Plus. Congratulations comrades for defying the oppressive propaganda mainstream media organized by US imperialism and the reactionary and treacherous puppet regime based in South Korea. Thank you for launching the alternative true and progressive The Min Plus media that will continue to articulate the genuine wishes and aspirations of the patriotic forces for an anti-imperialist and united socialist Korea.

We in Kenya are also committed to the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism and capitalism, and salute you comrades of South Korea for remaining loyal to your world famous, gallant, legendary and inspiring history of struggle in which your revolutionary people and leaders led by among others comrade Kim Il Sung armed with Juche ideology defeated the fascist Japanese and US colonial and neocolonial powers and also feudalism and capitalism in the northern part of your country. We are also aware that the defeated reactionary forces established themselves in the southern part of your country from Seoul with the support of US imperialism from where they perpetuate the imperialist division of Korea. We also know that US imperialism and its puppet regime based in Seoul uses US military forces and bases (the largest in the region), systems of organized terror, false propaganda and physical and

psychological torture of patriotic citizens to maintain the dictatorial and capitalist regime and system that delays the reunification of Korea. We say 'delays' because we believe that sooner or later Korea will be reunited while capitalism and imperialism defeated.

Many of you comrades launching The Min Plus have been forced to spend many years in prison where you underwent unimaginable torture. You also have comrades, friends and fellow patriots and revolutionaries that have been persecuted viciously in many ways by the oppressors. The fact that you continue with the struggle despite all this is a great inspiration to us and all people in the world struggling for freedom, national liberation, justice and peace. As a person who has also spent many years in prison under solitary confinement and torture in Kenya, I convey my heartfelt appreciation and admiration to you in this regard.

Finally comrades, you can always count on SDP's solidarity for The Min Plus and all it represents and for the continuing struggle for the liberation of Korea from capitalism and imperialism and for the reunification of Korea which is a just struggle that is part and parcel of the struggle for the freedom and liberation of humanity.

Long live The Min Plus!
Long live the struggle for the reunification of Korea!
Long live anti-imperialist solidarity!
Long live socialism!

SOLIDARITY MESSAGE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SUDAN

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
13 June 2019

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) has been following very closely the ongoing struggle of the people of Sudan for democracy and against the military dictatorship. We congratulate the gains made by the masses and the progressive forces led by among others the Sudanese professional organisations.

As we have interacted with you closely, CPK is conscious of the fact that the ongoing mass uprisings in your country are not spontaneous but are a culmination of long, hard and conscious political organization that the Communist Party of Sudan (CPS) has been leading. We in Kenya are proud of you comrades.

While congratulating you, we are also aware of the challenges you are confronting as the struggle continues to unfold. We are conscious of the sacrifices you have made and continue to make as you demand civilian rule and true liberation and freedom. The ongoing struggle has caused imprisonment, torture, suffering of all sorts and the deaths of your patriots and comrades. Yet, this is not for nothing. It is the price that patriots and revolutionaries are forced to pay for freedom and liberation.

The CPK and the Kenyan masses are proud of the CPS and the progressive forces of your country for leading the struggle against the military dictatorship. Since yours is a just and progressive cause, ultimately victory will be yours. Comrades, be always assured of our solidarity. Please keep us informed.

Long live the mass uprisings in Sudan!
Long live the struggle for democracy and civilian rule!
Long live the Communist Party of Sudan!
Long live socialism! To victory!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA DEMANDS THE END OF THE WAR GOING ON IN SOUTH SUDAN

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP

July 2014

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) demands the immediate end to the war that is now going on in the Republic of South Sudan (RoSS). The war that is taking place in RoSS and that has already killed thousands of people and displaced hundreds of thousands is a reactionary war and therefore unacceptable. A just war which is inevitable and necessary is war of defence of nations and people, war of national and social liberation. A just war is war against colonialism and imperialism, war fought for freedom and human rights, war for removing the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person. The ongoing war in RoSS is not a just war under these standards and should therefore be condemned in no uncertain terms. The leaders of SPLM/A led by President Salva Kiir and former Vice President Riek Machar will ultimately be made to take responsibility for this shameful and senseless war that has increased the suffering of the people of the youngest nation in Africa and the world.

The leaders of SPLM/A who came to power after a long and protracted war of national liberation from the successive reactionary Khartoum regimes ought to have learned about what to do or not to do from other African countries that have been independent for about fifty years. Instead, the leaders of SPLM/A driven by personal aggrandisements continue to make the same mistakes made by the regimes in power in most African countries. Rather than making and implementing policies of liberating their country from poverty, underdevelopment,

dependency and national sovereignty, the SPLM/A regime drives the country and people along the path of neoliberalism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and dependency. Instead of working to democratise SPLM/A and RoSS society, the leaders engage in intrigues and all manner of reactionary actions for holding personal power for purely narrow and parochial interests.

As a consequence, no sooner had they got into power than they started looting their country and doing all the bad things that are done by other African leaders yesterday and today. Thus dictatorship, corruption, tribalism, nepotism, greed, betrayal of principles of the struggle for national liberation, and existence and perpetuation of reactionary ideas and policies are the order of the day among the leaders of SPLM/A led by President Salva Kiir. The leadership does not inspire the people towards national unity, development and national progress but instead kills their patriotic and progressive spirits due to its reactionary governance of the country. When Kiir disbanded the whole cabinet a few months ago and formed a new one composed of his sycophants, he did not do that in the interest of the welfare of the people of RoSS but rather to monopolise power for himself in preparation for the coming national elections. This naturally created bitterness, despondency and disaffection among senior members of SPLM/A including Riek Machar and citizens of RoSS who have been demanding democratic change within SPLM/A. Dividing the armed forces along tribal lines in order to consolidate personal power and wealth was the greatest mistake made by the regime that has greatly contributed to bringing about this brutal and destructive war.

SDP calls upon the African Union and regional organisations including IGAD and East African Community, as well as the UN to use all means possible to ensure that this mad war stops

immediately and peace returns in RoSS as a matter of urgency. Indeed, we are pleased that already good efforts are being made by the leaders of the organizations in the interest of peace and security of the suffering people of RoSS. Africa and the world must not abandon the people of RoSS at this hour of need!

However, while dealing with the immediate problem and problems of the war, all people and organizations interested in peace in RoSS must demand that the SPLM/A regime deals with the root causes of the problem and begins to implement long term and sustainable solutions and measures for peace. This includes addressing the questions of greed and corruption among the leaders, dictatorship, tribalism and nepotism. Besides, the search for sustainable peace and human security in RoSS is not a matter of SPLM/A alone; it should involve all political parties in the country and also the civil society. The leaders of RoSS must be reminded that they are there to lead the struggle against poverty and underdevelopment and not to amass wealth for themselves and their cronies. SDP is in solidarity with the people of RoSS who are demanding national unity, democracy, human rights, transparency, accountability, new national constitution, peace and implementation of progressive social and development policies in their country.

Finally, SDP calls upon President Salva Kiir who is now President of RoSS and commander of the armed forces to command the armed forces to stop war immediately wherever they are. At the same time, simultaneously, Riek Machar and all those who command armies in RoSS must also immediately order their armies to stop fighting. As a gesture of good will and sincerity to peace and national reconciliation, Salva Kiir must also immediately release all political prisoners and promise not to stand for the seat of President of RoSS in the coming elections.

Riek Machar too must without delay participate in the peace process while also promising not to campaign for the position of President of RoSS in the same elections. All this should be done in the spirit that peace and the interests of the country which are bigger than individuals however powerful or influencial they may be.

On their part, the people of RoSS, particularly the youth, should prepare not to support or elect anyone to power who they know is a tribalist or who has become a millionaire after he or she came to the leadership of the country. They should reject the reactionary war and neoliberal socio-economic policies that expose the country to imperialist domination while escalating poverty and underdevelopment and increasing the gap between the few rich elites and the majority of the people of RoSS.

In the meanwhile, humanitarian organizations must be facilitated by all stakeholders of the peace process in RoSS as a matter of urgency to deal with the big and worsening refugee and humantarian crisis created by the war. The people of RoSS who have suffered enough for the just war of the independence of their country do not deserve to continue to die and suffer due to a worthless war of post-independence opportunistic pro-capitalist leaders! Those who decide to refuse to work for peaceful solution must be made to face justice now or in future.

PART IV
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA IS EXERCISING ITS CONSTITUTIONALLY GUARANTEED AUTHORITY TO ORGANIZE, EDUCATE AND ADVOCATE FOR A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, STRUCTURES AND SYSTEMS IN KENYA

The Communist Party of Kenya answers the call of the Kenyan workers and peasants who struggle to build this country despite the overwhelming betrayal and unending exploitation visited upon by the ruling elite. Successive regimes have continued with the colonial policies, and the Kenyan workers and peasants have had to contend with a capitalist system engineered to keep enslaving them in forever toil for the elite.

Rooted in colonialism and inherited by the neo-colonialists and comprador class in the country, Kenyans have nobody to turn to when things go wrong other than CPK. Promises of democracy have been swallowed by a new monster: state corruption. Government officials and public servants are in a mad rush to enrich themselves in a primitive drive to accumulate wealth in order to join the same bourgeois class that is sucking life and wealth from Kenyan workers.

The class struggle in Kenya, in our analysis and based on all evidence worldwide, will only end when all exploitation and oppression by person and person comes to an end and is forgotten in the practical life of humankind. For this to happen, CPK must seize every opportunity to advance the workers' struggle, including participating in bourgeoisie elections, as we continue to organize towards a socialist revolution. While this is not easy, the work has been done. The foundation is set, and day by day,

the Party is participating in the country's political, social, economic, and cultural conversations.

We aim to showcase the current neo-liberal systemic contradictions and advocate for socialist solutions. As we grow in reach and power, the struggle of Kenyan workers, peasants, and the poor moves us and inspires us.

CPK has been independently verified as one of the few, if not the only, ideologically driven Party in Kenya. We are revolutionaries advancing a socialist movement and aspiring to form a socialist government in Kenya.

CLASS ORIGINS OF CORRUPTION IN KENYA

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK

12 March 2021

In a recent interview, President Uhuru Kenyatta made a shocking revelation and admission that Kenya was losing Ksh2 billion[1] a day to graft. If we were to assume that the theft takes place only between Monday to Friday, it would then mean that the country is losing Sh730 billion yearly. The Kenyan public continues to debate why the head of state is unable to do anything to stop the theft. What the president didn't tell the public is how much of the stolen billions of taxpayer funds are going to the pockets of people close to him. Local media outlets have reported that people close to the president are beneficiaries of corruption.

Every week the press is awash with one case of graft after another. From the looting of funds meant to fight the Covid 19 pandemic to the billions of shillings lost through fake government tenders.

Many Kenyans are aware that corruption is bad for them. They know the leaders in power are corrupt, and that disturbs them. They express their hatred and anger every day through public spaces by organizing demonstrations, publishing anti-corruption propaganda.

We have seen messages like 'corrupt leaders must die,' 'corruption is a genocide against the poor', and many more. Sometimes the capitalist propaganda that corruption is human nature occasionally dampens the peoples' courage to fight.

The bigger question is, what is the root of corruption, and how can it be stopped? The Communist Party of Kenya reaffirms

[1] Ksh – Kenyan Shilling

that the mother of corruption is the system that perpetuates it—Capitalism.

Kenya is a corrupt neo-colonial turbo capitalist state. Kenyans are trapped between the corrupt political leaders' interests and the imperialist interests represented by multinationals corporations and non-government organizations.

The Kenyan problem is not only on bad leadership but also in the exploitative relations with the metropole countries. The unequal capitalist system is at the center of our problems. So, we see corruption within the inner life of Kenyan society and its influence from external factors.

Capitalism is the system that encourages the primitive accumulation of land, wealth, and capital, where individuals and families accumulate thousands of acres of land which they don't need while millions of Kenyans are landless and need the land for their survival and development.

Let us elaborate on this more precisely. According to Kenya Land Alliance, more than 65 percent of all arable land in Kenya is in the hands of only 20 percent of Kenyans. The mindless land grabbing has left millions landless, while 67 percent, on average, own less than an acre per person. About 80 percent of the population has already been alienated from their national resource.

Capitalism is the system of exploitation of person by person based on greed; individual families are proud to own billions and trillions, which they are pleased to display while millions of people wallow in poverty in urban areas or ache an impoverished life in primitive lifestyles in the countryside. Is this not corruption?

Let us reflect on another admission. Recently, Raila Odinga, the Orange Democratic Party leader, admitted to having a net

worth of about Ksh2 billion in a country where the majority of the population are in dire need of food, medicine, and all the basics that comes with a dignified life. This only confirms a country divided between a few haves and the suffering many. In this capitalist system, people are starving and dying of hunger while the class in power pushes the country deeper into foreign debt. The handshake politics has introduced more thieves into the jubilee administration. The jubilee administration did not go beyond the campaign rhetoric and is proving clueless about our country's future.

The capitalist democracy is corrupt; it's a competition of vote-buying exercise, bribery, deception, forgery—politicians compete in rigging themselves. Rulers keep on parroting about fighting corruption to cover their crimes deliberately. Yet, who in the ruling class is not corrupt? When the election approaches, they start accusing each other of corruption. Every capitalist faction wants to win public opinion by accusing the other faction of more theft. Media outlets widely reported when President Uhuru Kenyatta's statement that he would not hand over power to a thief. What did he mean? If he does not have something to hide, why did he resort to the court of public opinion yet he is the commander in chief, with the instruments of power to prosecute such crimes? To the Kenyan capitalist ruling class, the fight against corruption is just a song, lies, platitude, drama, and open impunity. How can people who are part and parcel of corruption be expected to lead the war against corruption successfully?

Privatization is theft – the Capitalist system is anchored on the robbery of public resources through privatization. This is how the rich can hoard billions of monies at the expense of the majority poor. To privatize essential services such as water, to put them at the altar of profit for a few moneybags is corruption.

To bankrupt state corporations only to end up buying them through backdoors for a song is corruption. To have an opaque private and public partnership that is anti-people, where losses are passed to the public and profits to businessmen that's corruption.

Capitalist culture is corrupt – the culture of deception and lies; through mass media outlets, the capitalist sells their corrupt pop-culture. They attack the poor masses, telling them that they have only themselves to blame for their poverty. They disseminate false hope to the masses, to make them meek, and turn attention away from the capitalist chaos. In the same media outlets, the politicians show off their stolen wealth through opulent lives. Teaching young Kenyans to aspire for corrupt lifestyles and values of acquiring money at all costs rather than values of hard work, good morals, and changing our country to a better society based on communist values and not corruption?

The capitalist education system is corrupt – it brews intellectual corruption, both in essence and form. Apart from education meant for the rich by the rich, the capitalist education system is designed to condition the Kenyan masses and mold them to be at the capital's service. The loan funding of higher learning makes most Kenyans an appendage of the capitalist system and distracts any thoughts to change the system that has condemned them into poverty. Higher education institutions are lobbyists of reactionary ideas to maintain the status quo of capitalism. The products of these institutions are intellectuals that have sold their souls entirely to capitalism; they are not near professionals but the capitalist zombies living for their greed. Engineering, Medicine, Political science, et al. is not at the service of humanity but the service of capital and individual greed.

To fight against corruption in Kenya is to fight against the capitalist system. The Communist Party of Kenya recognizes that capitalism is inherently corrupt, it's the base of corruption, and without giving it a final dent, corruption thrives. The tough anti-corruption talk among the Kenyan leaders is only a scarecrow to win the masses through lies. Building and strengthening the Communist Party of Kenya and spreading the communist ideology in Kenya is the only reliable and genuine path towards rooting out corruption in Kenya.

EASTER REFLECTIONS

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
7 April 2020

The Kenyan ruling class led by the handshake government in power today has run out of ideas of cheating Kenyans who are daily oppressed and exploited by their bankrupt system that only pushes the country deeper and deeper into political, economic and social crisis.

Everyday everywhere they sing about corruption yet they do nothing to take the culprits into prison or confiscate their wealth earned through corruption. The very word corruption is now used to hide the crimes committed by members of the ruling class. When millionaires steal billions they are arrested by the anti-corruption police, charged with corruption, given bail and their cases made to drag on until in many cases the criminals go free. Yet the ruling class in power continues chanting platitudes about fighting corruption.

On the other hand, when persons from the class of the poor steal, rob or commit fraud they are immediately arrested and put into custody and charged with the real crimes of theft, robbery, fraud and are sooner or later committed into prison. So the world corruption is being used to hide the theft, robbery and fraud committed by the ruling class and to give the impression that the government in power is committed to the war against the gross violations of public property involving billions or even trillions.

But what is the root cause of this crime baptised as corruption by the ruling class in power in Kenya today? And is the ruling class capable of ending the crime? The answer is No! The ruling class of Kenya has neither the will nor the ability to end corruption. This is because the root cause of corruption is the

capitalist system that dominates Kenyan economics, politics, culture, morality and psychology today.

It is the system that encourages primitive accumulation of land, wealth and capital, where individuals and families accumulate thousands and thousands of acres of land which they don't need while there are millions of Kenyans who are landless and need the land for their survival and development. In this system of exploitation of person by person based on greed, individual families are proud to own billions and trillions which they are proud to display while millions of people wallow in poverty in urban areas or live a poor life in primitive lifestyles in the country. In this capitalist system, people are actually starving and dying of hunger while the class in power politics about handshakes and pushes the country deeper and deeper into foreign debt.

The rulers keep on parroting everyday about fighting corruption to deliberately cover their crimes. But the question is, who in the ruling class is not corrupt? Isn't the capitalist system based on exploitation of person by person not corruption? Isn't robbing public property by the rich for the rich by privatising air and water ports, sugar industries, state parastatals etc. not corruption? Isn't privatising essential services such schools, health facilities and housing and denying them to the poor while increasing the divide between the few rich and the majority poor not corruption? Isn't teaching young persons to aspire for corrupt life styles and values of acquiring money at all costs rather than values of hard work, good morals and changing our country for the better based on communist values not corruption?

To the Kenyan ruling class today, the fight against corruption is just a song, lie, platitude, drama and open impunity. How are people who are part and parcel of corruption be expected to lead

the war against corruption successfully? What I am saying is that the fight against corruption in Kenya must be fought side by side with the fight against the capitalist system. CPK recognizes that corruption is ultimately the baby of capitalism and therefore to kill it we must target the mother, the capitalist system. We expose the lies of the ruling class in power that has neither the will nor the ability to remove the corruption monster. The building and strengthening of CPK and communist ideology in Kenya is the reliable and genuine path towards rooting out corruption in Kenya and elsewhere.

Happy Easter comrades!

IS THIS THE DEMOCRACY THAT WE FOUGHT FOR? STATE OF THE NATION ESSAY

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP

8 August 2016

The question: If this is democracy, is it the democracy we struggled for?

The Kenyan politics of populism, lies, intrigues, false expectations, corruption, tribalism and all manner of platitudes about democracy and regular elections have continued since the last national elections. And now preparations and campaigns for the next general elections that will be held on 8th August 2017—55 years since independence from British colonialism, 25 years since the return of multiparty democracy and about 7 years since the inauguration of the current Constitution of Kenya, are under way and are everyday news, with a crescendo! We are told that this is democracy.

Now as all this continues, we stop to ask the rhetorical question: if this is democracy, is it the democracy that we struggled for or desire?

SDP says NO! What we have now for democracy in Kenya is not the democracy we fought for. Neither is it the democracy we desire nor aspire for. And in this essay by *we* I mean the masses of Kenya for the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) being a socialist party is the true voice of the majority of Kenyans. It is not our democracy but the democracy of the ruling classes of Kenya whether in the 'opposition' or in the executive arm of government. It is the democracy of maintaining the reactionary status quo of capitalism and imperialism, the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person. It is democracy for the betrayal of the majority of Kenyans by the few

Kenyan elites that control state power and the politics and economics of greed and corruption of unbridled neocolonial capitalism.

Multiparty democracy in Kenya - The fruits of struggles from below

Multipartism in Kenya came about after long, hard and concerted struggles during which many patriots, democracy and human rights advocates and activists were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial, forced into exile, expelled from educational institutions, denied employment and persecuted in all ways. Many were assassinated or murdered during the mass demonstrations and actions of demanding the end of the then Kenya African National Union's (KANU) one party dictatorship that was notorious for the violation of citizens' and human rights. The one party dictatorship that was against civic and political liberties also embodied the politics and culture of tribalism, nepotism, cronyism, sycophantism, greed, corruption, capitalism and neo-colonialism that continue to ravage the country today.

That is why the triumph of multipartism in 1992 was seen by the masses of Kenya to be akin to political revolution as it started the liberation of the society from the regime that was one of the most notorious and brutal dictatorships in Africa. Freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of press, civic and political liberties, recognition of the right of political parties to exist and operate and the growth and strengthening of the civil society were some of the concrete democratic gains that Kenyans achieved after the return of multipartism.

However, it took ten years before 'opposition' parties were able to remove the infamous KANU—the notorious political party that had misruled the country since independence—from power. The defeat of KANU then also meant the defeat of the

most reactionary regimes in the history of postcolonial Kenya, led by the then dictator president Daniel arap Moi, the regime that was certainly a stumbling block to the entrenchment and development of the culture of freedom, multiparty democracy and human rights in the country. That is why many Kenyans also likened the defeat of Moi and KANU in the 2002 elections as the second liberation.

As soon as multipartism started becoming a reality in the country, Kenyans realised that it was also necessary to change the national constitution that was partly inherited from British colonialism and hitherto had been used to govern the country since independence in 1963, to reflect and conserve the new system of democratic governance. But just like it did to multipartism, the then Moi-KANU barbaric government resisted constitutional reforms vehemently. Once again it mobilised the fascist like security forces against Kenyan patriots and citizens who came out to demand progressive change. Once more many Kenyans were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial and killed before the reactionary government acceded to people's popular demand for a new constitution. Like freedom from colonialism and the winning of multiparty democracy, the present constitution of Kenya is the collective achievement of popular people's struggles for democracy and human rights from below.

But Moism-KANUISM remains today!

Although Moi-KANU was defeated, Moism-KANUISM has not yet been defeated and it is clear today that the system and its leaders whether in government or opposition have laughed their way to political and economic power to remain the rulers of the ruling class and to conserve the status quo of tribalism, corruption, primitive accumulation, backward ideas and

exploitation and oppression of the majority of Kenyans. Isn't it clear that JUBILEE and CORD are in fact Moism-KANUISM if not in form but in content!? In fact, the leaders of JUBILEE and CORD are historically sons and daughters of Moism-KANUISM. Their political carriers, ideology, greed, values and the wealth they control originate from Moism-KANUISM that perfected the system of rewarding relatives, tribal 'chiefs', cronies, opportunists and sycophants of all sorts.

That is why today we are forced to ask the rhetorical question: fifty-five years since independence from British colonialism, twenty-five years since the return of multi-party democracy in the country and seven years since the promulgation of the current national constitution, is this the democracy we struggled for? Is it the democracy we deserve and desire? And we begin by answering NO in big letters! This is why.

The parties of the ruling class are collaborating to kill multipartism

To begin with, Kenyans fought for multiparty democracy but not the democracy of few political parties. There are now sixty-two registered political parties in the country. This is good for the country because this manifests the hunger of Kenyans to actively participate in building the culture of freedom and democracy in the country which is necessary for carrying forward the class struggles. But, unfortunately, the parties of the ruling classes of the JUBILEE coalition led by TNA and URP and the CORD coalition led by ODM and its allies both of who form the government are united in their narrow, selfish and parochial conspiracy to kill other political parties in Kenya in order to remain as the only political parties so that together they can dominate and manipulate the politics of the country to fit their common ideology of capitalism/neoliberalism. They have started

this process by conspiring to grab and share only among themselves the hundreds of millions of shillings meant to fund political parties so as to entrench and nurture the culture of multipartism in the country.

Today the leaders of these coalitions popularized by the Kenyan media are spreading lies that only few political parties will end tribalism in the country. They do this while in fact it is they that everyday are perpetuating tribalism so as to maintain the status quo of exploitation and primitive accumulation. In this they also count on the support of imperialist and pro-capitalism NGOs operating in the country and that purport to support and teach Kenyans about democracy and human rights.

Few political parties' capitalist democracy imported from the UK and USA

The three political parties, TNA, URP and ODM and their allies all worship bourgeoisie democracy as it is practiced in the West, particularly the USA and United Kingdom. They see it as the Alpha and Omega of democracy. The United States pretends to be the most democratic country in the world, yet many political parties are suppressed and the citizens are forced through vicious capitalist media and sometimes naked force to choose to be governed by either the Republican or Democratic parties, both of which are capitalist and imperialist. Similarly, notwithstanding the recent 'political rebellion from Scotland', in the UK all political parties are suppressed through the conspiracy of the ruling feudal and capitalist classes and their media, forcing citizens of that country to vote for the Labour, Conservative or Liberal Democrats political parties—all of which represent capitalism and imperialism. The idea is to use the political parties to conserve the democracy of the ruling capitalist classes and to use it to dilute class struggles within the countries by creating

illusions of political changes through regular national elections that ensure the capitalist and imperialist system remains intact while class struggles are ameliorated. This is the democracy that JUBILEE and CORD and their allies are importing for Kenya. It is not the democracy that the Kenyan masses wish and aspire for as the constitution of Kenya clearly stipulate. On the contrary, it is the democracy of the exploitation and oppression of the majority of Kenyans by few rich Kenyans. It is reactionary democracy that is perpetuated by cheap populism, corruption, tribalism, ignorance and the vicious propaganda of the Kenyan mass media owned and controlled by local and foreign capitalists.

JUBILEE or CORD—two faces of the same coin

The JUBILEE and CORD political coalitions present themselves as antagonistic, one in charge of the executive arm of government and the other in the opposition. Yet when all is said and done their antagonism is in form and not in content. It is a political gimmick meant to hoodwink voters and supporters who propel them to power through corruption, tribalism, media propaganda and sheer stupidity. The truth is that the two coalitions are both committed to imposing the democracy of capitalism and neocolonialism of greed, primitive accumulation, tribalism, cronyism and exploitation of person by person upon the people of Kenya. Yet just as Kenyans are made to believe that there is no alternative to bourgeoisie democracy they are also made to think that Kenyan politics will always be determined by either JUBILEE (it is changing to JUBILEE Party or we do not know what!) or CORD and the similar capitalist ideology they stand for. CORD is not in fact an opposition coalition as Kenyans are made to think for it is not opposed to the ideology of

JUBILEE. Both of them are defenders of capitalism, imperialism and even Zionism.

SDP is sure that the democracy of JUBILEE and CORD is not what we (the majority of Kenyans) struggled for or desire for the present and future of our country. We know that as long as Kenyans remain in the box of either JUBILEE or CORD, they will not achieve liberation from the current political, economic and social problems. In fact, to struggle for social and national liberation today is to struggle against the domination of the right-wing politics of Kenya championed by the two political coalitions.

But what is this democracy that is not good for the majority of the people of Kenya that is imposed upon Kenyans by JUBILEE and CORD and the institutions that are allied to them in one way or the other, including various religions, media and pro-capitalist NGOs and 'CSOs' operating in Kenya? The answer follows below.

It is democracy controlled by pro-capitalist mass media

The mainstream mass media embodied in the present democracy is neither the media we struggled for nor desire. This is despite the often conflicts between the government and the same media as a consequence of the never stopping attempts of the government to control and reduce the freedom of the media even further. The freedom of the media is enshrined in the constitution of Kenya and was struggled for by the popular masses and patriots but has been usurped by the capitalists.

Apart from Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) and its related electronic and print media that is also geared towards conserving the present status quo of capitalism, all other TV and radio stations as well as newspapers are owned and controlled by rich local and foreign individuals or groups of individuals who

also control political and economic power in the country. The news and dissemination of information in the country is dominated and controlled by the ruling capitalist class of Kenya and their imperialist masters. Kenyan journalists and media practitioners are in the service of the capitalist and pro-imperialist ruling elite. All the talk about journalist ethics and self-regulation that is often claimed and demanded by Kenyan journalists is a mere gimmick since it is who pays the piper that determines the tune.

It is for this reason that the Kenyan media, despite all its pretenses, is about conserving and perpetuating the system of capitalism in the country that has failed to solve the myriad of economic and social problems bedeviling our country. The journalists have to expound the capitalist ideology of their masters. And since it is all about money, journalism in Kenya is part and parcel of the culture of platitudes, parochial populist politics and corruption that exists in the country. To have a voice in the Kenyan print and electronic media you have to have money to bribe journalists or sing the ideological tune of the owners of capital and the media. That is why alternative views to bourgeoisie democracy, especially as it is practiced in Kenya, and to the capitalist social and economic system is hardly publicized or tolerated by the media. The true voices, wishes and aspirations of the majority of Kenyans that are poor and exploited are only paid lip service by Kenyan corrupt and pro-capitalist mass media.

The Kenyan media, for example, hardly reports the meetings of SDP and other 'small' political parties that do not conform to the system or those parties that have refused to bribe them. In this way, political news in Kenya is dominated by JUBILEE and CORD on a daily basis. Meetings and activities of our party are ignored by the media therefore making it seem like Kenyan

political history is only made by the right-wing political parties led by millionaires and billionaires and the mafia who control the economy and state of Kenya today. As a matter of fact, the mainstream media is part and parcel of the conspiracy to kill multiparty democracy in the country in favor of few neoliberal political parties. Their mission is to ensure that Kenyans do not think out of the box of the capitalist and imperialist ideology by deliberately circulating misinformation and platitudes that are repeated so much that they are regarded as truth by the Kenyan public.

However, this is not surprising because the main objective of the Kenyan private (and even public-media—remember KBC!) like all capitalist and imperialist media, is not to inform, educate and entertain Kenyans about freedom, culture and social progress but to mint money and conserve the reactionary status quo. The present mass media system is best suited for the capitalists and imperialists to make money through investment in newspapers, radio and television. Bourgeoisie democracy is full of praise for the growth of the private mass media precisely because it serves the business interests of local and foreign capitalists' interests in Kenya and the region.

But is this the media we struggled for and aspire for? No, this is not our media. It does not serve our class interests. It does not promote human values; it instead works to dehumanize individuals in society. It does not fight for our freedom and liberation but is ultimately geared to enslave us through the hegemony of the ruling elites with their unbridled capitalist system and ideology. Kenyan media does not lead us to the democracy we fought for and desire since it continues to lie that bourgeoisie democracy is the Alpha and Omega of democracy. Yet bourgeoisie democracy is not only reactionary in the world

today, it has also never been the highest form of democracy. It is the democracy of exploitation and oppression of the class of the majority by that of the minority.

We must therefore search and struggle for alternative media based on the principle of participation of the masses in accessing, discussing and disseminating information and knowledge. The alternative progressive media must reflect, analyze and advocate the class struggles in Kenya. It must point out the evils of capitalism and imperialism. It must fight the inhuman morals of greed, corruption, discrimination, oppression and exploitation of person by person. The progressive alternative media must teach the oppressed and exploited about the need to struggle and to overthrow the capitalist and imperialist system. It must educate Kenyans about human values, socialism: scientific ideas, dialectical and historical materialism, about the need to struggle for class and gender equality, national values and principles of governance enshrined in the constitution of Kenya.

We repeat, the media that we desire is that which is part and parcel of the struggle against capitalism and imperialism and that is for socialism. The Kenyan masses need mass media that promotes the ideals and values of social justice, truth and human solidarity that are in fact the national values and principles of governance outlined in Article 10 of the constitution of Kenya.

Socialist values and principles embodied in the constitution of Kenya

The democracy that the majority of Kenyan people struggled for and desire is summarized in Article 10 of the constitution of Kenya and is defined as national values and principles of governance. These are:

> *"a) patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people;*

b) human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination, and protection of the marginalized;

c) good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability and;

d) sustainable development."

These are noble values indeed that were they to be realized they would transform Kenya towards becoming a socialist country in line with the ideology of SDP which is the true path of freedom and development not only for Kenya but for Africa and humanity as well.

Unfortunately, these values that summarize the wishes and aspirations of the majority of Kenyans are realized more in the breach than in the observance. In fact, it cannot be otherwise under the present capitalist system that is based on the values of private property, of exploitation and oppression of person by person. All those who claim that by changing the executive government from JUBILEE to CORD there will be progressive change towards the implementation of the national values are just telling lies, pure misinformation that is calculated by the ruling class and their foreign partners to create false hope among the masses in order to perpetuate the capitalist and imperialist system in the country. Yet imperialist funded NGOs and 'CSOs' including religious organizations disseminate these lies everyday... that the national values can be realized under the neocolonial and capitalist system. This is not unexpected though as the NGOs, 'CSOs' including religious organizations are led by the same elites that are part and parcel of the capitalist and imperialist system.

It is the bourgeois democracy that plants the seeds of greed and corruption

Despite the constitution of Kenya that embodies the said national values and one of the best bill of rights in the world, corruption in Kenya is endemic and has in fact increased many times fold since the constitution was inaugurated. Corruption practiced by the national government has been devolved to the county governments that are making a mockery of Kenyan peoples' wishes and aspiration for devolution as stipulated in chapter eleven of their constitution. Corruption is practiced by leaders of the government, private sector and non-governmental organizations, including religious organizations, with impunity. And since the ideas of the ruling class are imposed to the rest of society, the rot of corruption has permeated the whole of Kenyan society and is consuming it as ants consume trees. It has become a culture that is even embraced by ordinary citizens at the grassroots in spite of its wasteful, destructive and poisonous effects to their freedom, democracy, justice, human rights and sustainable development.

All state organs including parliaments, the executives and judiciary have been infected by corruption. Political leaders and civil servants amass billions worth of wealth through corruption with impunity. Through corruption, thieves, robbers, conmen and women, murderers, illicit drug barons and mafia are now in the highest offices of the Kenyan state, often after having been nominated or elected by citizens who accept to participate corruptly in the corrupt elections supervised by corrupt officers of the Independent Boundaries and Electoral Commission (IBEC). So entrenched is corruption in the country that the ritual of national elections that is repeated every five years increases corruption and the number of corrupt individuals in power

instead of reducing them. Institutions charged with the task of fighting corruption, including the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), County and National parliaments, Police, Kenya Revenue Authority, various constitutional commissions, state appointed bodies, etc., are themselves infested so much by corruption and corrupt officers that they have failed to protect Kenyans from corruption.

It is the majority of Kenyans who are poor and exploited who suffer most from corruption. For example, despite the populist propaganda that is now a platitude about free primary and subsidized secondary school education, education is today so expensive that the majority of the children of the poor can hardly afford the school fees and thousands of them are forced to be out of school. The school fees charged by Kenyan public schools are among the most expensive in the world. Corruption is so rife in the country that the head teachers of schools form cartels of charging the huge school fees that they do not even account for. They misappropriate public funds in the schools while ignoring the school fee structures set by the Ministry of Education (a ministry that is unable to enforce its pronouncements that only translate into empty words of hoodwinking the public.)

The Ministry of Education is unable to govern the schools and the head teachers, leaving parents and students at the mercy of the tyranny of the greedy and merciless educational professionals who violate all professional ethics in order to mint easy money that hurt parents and the future of children. And then after finishing secondary schools, thousands of the children of the poor are unable to continue to colleges, universities and other institutions of higher education. The unfortunate incidences of the burning of schools by secondary school students as well as the riots of university students that have happened in many parts

of the country this year, are protests against the corruption and hopelessness in Kenya in general and educational institutions in particular.

Public universities have been privatized while the standard of education they offer has been compromised due to the insistence that the administrators use the institutions to mint money at any cost. Kenyan universities are so rotten with corruption that the university administrations and councils connive with gangs of students called student leaders to steal millions of money contributed by students for students' welfare. To protect and perpetuate the corruption, the university administrations and councils ensure academic freedom is eliminated and the universities are governed through authoritarianism. Independent student organizations are suppressed and progressive student leaders and students are persecuted, frustrated and expelled arbitrarily. The lecturers of the institutions of higher learning are so oppressed that they have given in to the corrupt and reactionary system; they are no longer intellectuals who generate, pursue and disseminate knowledge and freedom but individuals who are slaves of the mundane aspirations of money, greed, sycophantism and opportunism. Instead of being creative, trusted and respected persons many lecturers have allowed themselves to be turned by the system into zombies, pretenders of knowledge and disseminators of platitudes and reactionary ideas.

The health sector has not been spared by the corruption either. The majority of Kenyans who cannot afford to pay for private health services suffer and die of curable diseases as public health facilities that are ravaged by corruption are not able to provide the required services. The problem is escalated by the corruption in county governments that mismanage the devolved health sector. Doctors and other medical practitioners employed in

public health facilities spend more time working for private health facilities than in public health services while receiving salaries from them every month. At the same time medicine, equipment and other provisions are stolen from public hospitals and sold to private hospitals, chemists, labs and stores.

The basis of corruption in the country is the capitalist system. Capitalism is the system of greed and the worship of money and private property, accumulation and wild competition over wealth and things. No wonder the Kenyan education system is used to disseminate and perpetuate capitalist ideas and values of self-aggrandizement, egoism and conspicuousness.

In this 'democracy' everything is privatized or is being privatized

In the process of implementing neoliberal economic and social policies the government and the ruling class which politically is led by JUBILEE and CORD has been in a hurry to privatize the economy and social services. Privatization means transferring public property—or what belongs to all Kenyans—to local and foreign individuals, families or groups. It is robbery of the national economy by the capitalists that control political and state power. To justify privatization the public is cheated that state parastatals and other public properties are being privatized "in the interest of tax payers who are losing their money through the loss-making parastatals"; In this way most lucrative parastatals have now been privatized or targeted for privatization and sold cheaply and corruptly to the rich local and foreign capitalists either in government or connected to the corrupt Kenyan leadership. This has escalated unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment in the country, while widening the gap between the few rich and the majority poor. Today Kenya is one of the leading countries in the world in corruption and inequality.

Through privatization and economic liberalization Kenya's national economy of agriculture, industry, trade and services has been destroyed, making the country to be dependent on imported second hand goods, with all the negative implications to national interests of today and of the future.

Today the best quality services are provided by the private sector. It is therefore only the rich people who can afford good quality health, education, water, housing, transport and communication services. All that is good including the common and natural resources such as land, beaches, rivers, lakes, water, wildlife and recreational facilities have also either been privatized or are targeted for privatization.

Article 43 (1) of the Constitution of Kenya provides for economic and social rights for all Kenyans. It states: "Every person has the right (a) to the highest attainable standard of health, which includes the right to healthcare services, including reproductive health care; (b) to accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standard of sanitation; (c) to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality; (d) to clean and safe water in adequate quantities; (e) to social security; and (f) to education." But all these popular democratic rights are not realized by the democracy that ensures that the wealth and resources of all Kenyans are appropriated by only a few local and foreign individuals, families and groups.

Furthermore, Article 43 (10) of the constitution of Kenya commands: "A person shall not be denied emergency medical treatment." But every Kenyan today knows that even if a person is at the brink of death following an emergency, he or she will not be given treatment in a private hospital if he or she has no money or medical insurance cover to pay. The National Assembly and Senate dominated by JUBILEE and CORD and

also the County Governments are committed to neoliberal economic and social policies and have refused to make and implement policies and laws of enforcing the realization of Article 43 concerning economic and social rights that also include Article 43 (3) that commands that "the state shall provide appropriate social security to persons who are unable to support themselves and their dependents."

There is hardly any investment in cultural activities such as theatres, libraries, museums, sports, art, music, recreational facilities, etc. Thus Kenyans are denied of their humanity and made to live like animals with hardly any cultural or recreational activities, only surviving with primitive, religious, superstitious and backward ideas in the era of great scientific and technological revolutions in the world.

Kenyan economy today has no place for the welfare of the majority of citizens that are forced to endure the harsh life of having to live or survive by luck on a day-to-day basis in the cycle of poverty, want and suffering. It is an economy based on the democracy that is planned to serve the interest of the few rich and their foreign imperialist masters at the expense of the vast majority of Kenyans that are trapped in the created poverty and backwardness while creating wealth for the few local and foreign exploiters. Under the neoliberal state, democracy and economy, Kenya's natural resources are controlled by few millionaires and billionaires who collaborate with imperialism to enslave the majority and deny them of their freedom and liberation. It is this class of business cartels, bureaucratic capitalists, con-men and con-women, land and property speculators, financial oligarchies and mafia of all sorts that also control politics and dissemination of information in the country. Thus democracy in Kenya today is government of the capitalists by the capitalists and for the local

and foreign capitalists. It is not the government of the people by the people and for the people as we are made to believe. It is their democracy and not our democracy.

Summary and conclusion

Kenyans will repeat the ritual of electing the President, Senators, Governors, Members of Parliament, Women Members of Parliament and Members of County assemblies on 8th August 2017 according to the constitution. Despite all the talks and efforts of replacing the present commissioners of IBEC purportedly to ensure peaceful, free and fair elections, the elections will not change the fact that this is not the democracy the majority of Kenyans struggled for, deserve or desire. Neither is it the democracy that will change the lives of the majority of citizens for the better. As long as Kenyans remain trapped in the politics and democracy led by the JUBILEE and CORD political alliances with their common capitalist ideology, their living conditions will hardly improve even after the 2017 national elections. After all, it is impossible to have free and fair elections in a capitalist society where elections are determined by the ruling classes, money and the capitalist mass media.

Successive past elections in the country have hardly improved the lives of the majority of citizens. As a matter of fact, bourgeoisie elections however democratic they may be will not in themselves improve the well-being of the masses because they are not geared to remove the system of exploitation of person by person but to legitimize and perpetuate it. That is why the coming elections that are dominated by JUBILEE and CORD coalitions will hardly change the lives of the working class and the poor for the better even when they are supervised by a reformed IBEC. It doesn't matter which coalition emerges as a winner, as long as they are committed to maintaining the status quo of capitalism

and imperialism, neither JUBILEE nor CORD nor any pro-capitalist political party for that matter will liberate Kenyans from poverty and underdevelopment.

This is because the elections dominated by JUBILEE and CORD political parties will not interpret and implement the popular constitution of Kenya to serve the interests of the majority of Kenyans. This is because the ruling political parties are part and parcel of the system of corruption, tribalism, intrigues, lies and exploitation and oppression of person by person. So all the quarrelling we are made to see and hear too often by the Kenyan media between the leaders and politicians of JUBILEE and CORD coalitions have very little to do with the interests of we—the majority of Kenyans. Just like it is in the United States between the Democratic and Republican political parties, it is also so in Kenya about which capitalist political coalition will be in power to perpetuate the capitalist system, JUBILEE or CORD? The truth is that capitalism, which is the ideology of these political coalitions of the ruling class of Kenya, has failed to liberate the majority of Kenyans from poverty and underdevelopment, nor will it ever succeed to do so.

The Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) is the only registered progressive alternative political party in Kenya, hitherto. It is the alternative because it is against the capitalist and imperialist system and is struggling for the socialist system. It is therefore committed towards interpreting and implementing the constitution of Kenya towards socialism as indeed is the wishes and aspiration of the majority of Kenyans. Read through the eyes of the SDP, for example, the democracy the Kenyan people struggled for and that they desire and aspire for as outlined in their painfully struggled for constitution of Kenya is a socialist democracy. We repeat, Kenyan national values and principles of

governance defined in Article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya are:"(a) patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people; (b) human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination, and protection of the marginalized; (c) good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability and (d) sustainable development". All these cannot be realized under the democracy of the capitalist system that the JUBILEE and CORD political alliances and other right wing political parties in the country stand for. They will only be realized under the democracy of the socialist system that the SDP is inviting and mobilizing Kenyans to unite to struggle for.

So will the SDP participate in the coming national elections and if so for what reason? Yes, the SDP will certainly participate in the coming national elections precisely in order to use their elections and their democracy to sharpen the class struggles in the process of struggling for our own democracy and to also fight for whatever progressive reforms that are possible to realize within their democracy.

NEOLIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICIES: EXPOSING FALSE NARRATIVES BY KENYAN GOVERNMENT ON PUSH FOR PRIVATISATION

Ibrahim Bakayoko, Member of Secretariat - CPK
8 September 2021

Immediately after independence in 1963, Kenya implemented a three-tier complementary economic system of the state, cooperative and private sectors. This worked very well and the country was developing even along the emerging capitalist ruling class led by the first President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta. But things started going wrong at the end of the 1980s when successive regimes in the country embraced neoliberal economic policies imposed to the country by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) that are commonly known as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs).

The SAPs, among other things, aimed at privatising economy and particularly targeted state parastatals and cooperatives. The neoliberal policies that have brought the ongoing economic crisis to the country continue to be implemented by the JUBILEE and ODM government today. In the meantime, poverty, unemployment, national debt burden, inequality and general underdevelopment of the majority of citizens continues to escalate. In fact, the government is now unable to pay civil servants and to provide basic services such as public education, health, money to the elderly and pensions. The 3.6 trillion national budget remains a meaningless annual budget of statistical figures which has nothing to show on the development of the country or welfare of the majority of citizens.

Amidst all this, those who are in favour of neoliberalism and privatisation policies make the parastatals scapegoats for the

current national crisis. The promoters of neoliberalism argue that the government cannot cling to its parastatals while citizens go hungry, hospitals lack medicine, free primary education needs financing and teachers are demanding higher pay, among other things.

It's a matter of "give a dog a bad name and so that you can hang it." The same government that has mismanaged the economy resorts to neo-liberal driven platitudes such as "dynamics of free enterprise dictate that the Government has no business doing business. This task, the promoters of neoliberalism argue, should be left to the private sector. The State's responsibility, in their view, is to create an enabling environment for business to grow". They also say that as long as it is carried out transparently and according to the law privatisation of the parastatals is not only welcome but belated. This is tantamount to saying that there is nothing wrong with the robbery of public property as long as laws made to rationalise it are observed and seen to be observed. And who made the laws? Isn't the same class of people that will buy the privatised state institutions?

When it comes to imposing neoliberal reforms upon the Kenyan people, despite its populist rhetorics, ODM does not differ with JUBILEE ideologically. They are just birds of different feathers. As a matter of fact, the whole parliament welcomes and embraces privatisation that has far reaching consequences to the economy and welfare of the nation. Actually, this is not unexpected for the Kenyan parliaments and executives that are dominated by businessmen and women. The President, Deputy President, Cabinet Secretaries, Governors and members of parliament are businessmen and women. And when businessmen and women become rulers of a country, the majority

citizens cry. The history of Kenya continues to show that the business people in power always put their interests before those of the nation. It is not surprising, therefore, members of parliament have remained silent as the property owned by the public through state corporations is grabbed by the ruling capitalist class in the name of privatisation.

Privatising the state parastatals means selling the property that belongs to all Kenyans to few local and foreign rich families. Yet, the news about the privitisation that includes strategic national assets is considered to be trivial. This, of course, works in the interests of the government and the Kenyan bourgeoisie who wish the property of all Kenyans is transferred to the ruling classes without raising controversy from those who represent the interests of the masses of Kenyans.

The argument that privatisation will help the government solve the current social and economic problems including hunger, salaries, lack of medicine and other essential services, is simplistic and myopic. In the first place, if we go by the history of privatisation in Kenya as elsewhere, it escalates unemployment and therefore poverty and hunger while increasing inequality. Secondly, there is no proof hitherto that by privatising them the enterprises will work more efficiently. In any case, even if they work more efficiently it is mostly for the benefit of the new owners who will appropriate the profit they make at the expense of society. Thirdly, privatisation of parastatals has not reduced corruption, tribalism and nepotism in their operations in the past and there is no guarantee that it will do so today and in the future.

To justify privatisation by saying that it will raise money to deal with immediate problems is very bad leadership and economics indeed. Supposing the sale of the parastatals succeeds

to raise money to provide food and salaries to teachers and other civil servants and avail medicine to public hospitals today; what will happen next year or in the future when there are no longer any parastatals to privatise? What plans does the government have to raise funds to pay salaries and solve social problems that are likely to remain with the country for a long time, considering the fact that the problems have been escalated by the global COVID-19 pandemic? Is it not similar to a farmer who decides to sell all of his land in order to solve the immediate problems confronting him? Isn't more sensible for the government to come out with sustainable strategies of reviving the economy and dealing with the present crisis rather than seeking short term populist solutions that cause even more damage in the long run? Unfortunately, the JUBILEE-ODM government and their allies are bankrupt of ideas for solving the current economic and social problems. The leaders think about how to rob the country to hoard money in billions and even trillions of shillings for themselves.

It may be true that the parastatals may not be making profit. But is that enough reason to sell them? If private enterprises start making losses, what the owners usually do is to conduct research to find out whether the enterprise should be reformed or abandoned. Kenyan parastatals ought to be reformed rather than privatised. They used to perform in the past. There is no reason not to believe that they can be made to start performing again by studying and correcting the mistakes that have made them not to continue performing. There are enough patriotic, qualified and professional Kenyans capable of reforming the state autonomous economic institutions. There is no reason why the same professionals who run the private sector cannot be used to run the state sector as professionally and efficiently provided certain

subjective and objective conditions are established. These conditions include ensuring that they are operated as independently as possible with no undue interference from politicians in power.

Other parastatals are targeted for privatisation even when they are making profits. After all, if they cannot be able to be reformed, then why are they being privatised rather than being abandoned all together? Which capitalist worth his mind will invest in or buy a company or enterprise that is incapable of making profit? Who will buy shares in a company that is likely to collapse?

The argument put forwards in favour of privatisation that Kenyans will buy shares and become owners of the privatised parastatals is another gimmick meant to hoodwink the majority of Kenyans. It is only members of the class of wealthy Kenyans who will buy substantial and durable shares of the said enterprises. Those from the working class who are lucky enough to afford to buy the shares, and at the time of world economic recession, will only be escorting to wealth the real would-be shareholders of the enterprises. This is because most people from the high echelons of the working class only buy shares for short term speculative reasons only to sell them sooner than later. But the vast majority of Kenyans who hardly handle any money and merely survive day by day would never afford to buy the shares.

Kenyans are being deceived that in order to have a growing economy the state should keep out of the economy and leave it to the private sector and the dynamics of the free markets, i.e., only capitalism. In other words, the economic role of the state should purportedly be only to create the necessary infrastructure to facilitate a capitalist economy. But the capitalist system is class system where the means of production are owned by individuals,

group of individuals or families. Capitalism, ultimately, only obeys only capitalist laws of maximising profits for those who own the means of production. The majority of the people, alienated from the means of production, cannot realise true liberation, justice, equality, peace and freedom under such a system. Under capitalism, the workers, the poor and the class of the majority perpetually work and create wealth that is appropriated by the capitalists. Thus the rich continue to become richer while the poor become poorer.

Under neo-liberalism, privatisation policies are implemented through the discredited structural adjustment programs of the Bretton Woods institutions: the World Bank and International Monetary Fund which imposes them upon debt and crisis ridden economies of underdeveloped countries. But the present world financial and economic recession (actually it is capitalist crisis though it has ripple effects in the world) has disapproved these neo-liberal economics. Economic liberalisation and so-called market forces have been unable to save financial institutions, businesses and industries in the USA, Europe, Japan and the whole capitalist world from recession. Capitalist economic institutions are collapsing every other day escalating unemployment, poverty and suffering among the masses while states are resorting to nationalising them to save jobs and to alleviate the crisis. Despite all this the JUBILEE-ODM Government still insist upon leading the country along the same economic path that has driven the country into the present economic crisis where the government is even unable to pay salaries of civil servants and to prevent Kenyans from starving to death.

CPK appeals to Kenyans not to elect the candidates and parties of the ruling class—JUBILEE, ODM and OKA

coalition—in the 2022 national elections. Instead, they vote for CPK and only those parties and candidates that will provide alternative economic policies to those of neoliberalism that are pushing the country deeper and deeper into the ditch and quagmire of underdevelopment. And alternative economic policies are those that are geared away from capitalism and towards socialism

NEOLIBERALISM, PRIVATIZATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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The following Paper was presented at the Mwalimu Nyerere Intellectual Festival (MNIF) at the University of Dares - Saalam 14 April 2015

1. Executive summary

This paper is based on baseline research on neoliberalism and trade in Kenya that I conducted over several months for SEATIN-Kenya. The broad aim of the research was to investigate the level of awareness and understanding among local stakeholders of trade about the nature and functioning of the neoliberal multilateral trade system, its institutions that include World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) and their effects on Kenyan economy in general and the poor in particular. The research was also concerned about examining the viability of some of the solutions imposed by the multilateral system and that are implemented by the Kenyan Government that are purportedly aimed at ameliorating the social impacts of neoliberal economic policies. This included studying the production and market challenges of small-scale farmers, small-scale traders and artisanal fisher-folk, and also whether they and the legislators are involved in trade negotiations conducted by the Government with bilateral and multilateral Governments, Organizations and Institutions. In the process I also examined the viability and effects of privatization of state parastatals trade liberalization and 'rationalization' (it is actually retrenchments) of the civil service driven by neoliberalism and the Kenyan government.

The paper is divided into seven sections. Section 1 is the executive summary that provides an outline of the contents of the report. Section 2 is the introduction which is concerned with defining the problem of the research. It provides a detailed account about the effects of neoliberal globalization upon trade, industry, economy and agriculture of Kenya. It will attempt to show how Kenya and the countries of the East African Community have been made to be dependent on selling and consuming imported secondhand and substandard goods (*mtumba*), and also ideas, while implementing neoliberal economic and trade reforms that have hitherto failed to bring about development and poverty eradication among the majority of the citizens.

Section 3 defines the aims and objectives of the research while section 4 tells about the research methods that were employed for the research. Section 5 explains about the relevance of the research and report which is about the need and right of Kenyans and East African stakeholders—who include legislators, small-scale farmers, small-scale traders, artisanal fisher folk and the marginalized—to be informed, consulted and involved in various ways in the negotiations between the Government and the bilateral and multilateral organisations that impose capitalist economic reforms including privatization of the economy and services. Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere while President of the Republic of Tanzania and after he had retired always vehemently struggled against the neoliberal economic policies imposed upon African and Third World countries by imperialist powers.

Section 6 is the conceptual framework of the research and report. Here I propose that it is imperative for the present and any future leadership of Kenya and East Africa to be forced by the

united and organised struggle of progressive forces and the masses representing various interest groups, to consult and negotiate with them before they negotiate with foreigners and foreign institutions on behalf of the nation(s). Just like neoliberal economic policies, political and economic solutions that have come from above and outside have not worked hitherto and in fact have led to the present crisis of the cycle of poverty, underdevelopment and social injustices existing in our countries. The search for solutions must start from below involving people's participation at the grassroots. For example, rather than being taught by imperialists about how to negotiate and deal with the imperialist's institutions and policies, the EAC Governments and citizens should instead negotiate among themselves to form the necessary alternative national and regional platforms to forge national consensus in readiness for the struggle against the imperialist multilateral system. This, of course, implies that those who are currently in charge of the governments in our countries are interested in searching for alternative progressive and just economic policies, which unfortunately is not the case.

In section 7 is about the scope of the research. I point out that the objectives of the research were too broad and ambitious to be studied within a period of fourteen days even for a baseline research. Therefore the research could only touch upon the six thematic areas identified as specific objectives and suggested a road map for more comprehensive research. In section 8 I document the research findings while section 9 is about the recommendations of the research where I proposed citizens' and stakeholder's deliberate and organized struggle against neoliberal globalization and for globalization based on human solidarity, peace, justice and socialism.

2. Introduction: *Mtumbaism* - crude manifestation of neoliberal globalization

2.1. The meaning of *mtumbaism*

Mtumba is a Kiswahili word that was originally used to refer to second hand clothes. This is because the first second-hand commodities that were sold at a large scale in Kenyan markets were clothes. Now that today second-hand commodities have become the norm rather than the exception in Kenya and East Africa in general, *mtumba* refers to all second-hand items, clothes, shoes, utensils, vehicles, machines, electronic goods, furniture, medicine, etc. I also take the liberty to refer to as *mtumba* all cheap and sub-standard imported goods and also foreign ideas or ideologies that are aimed at preventing progressive change and that serve to maintain the unjust political, economic and cultural order of poverty, dependency and underdevelopment. Nyerere used to teach that while dependency on other people is bad, dependency of other people's ideas is worse. In Kenya, like in many parts of Africa, the importation, buying, selling and consumption of all sorts of *mtumba* goods has become the norm rather than the exception. It is this culture and process of dependence on *mtumba* goods, values and ideas that I call *mtumbaism* (Mghanga, 2003:93-117).

2.1.1. The trade in second hand clothes

Kenyan markets, whether in the rural or urban areas, are today full of all sorts of *mtumba*, most of which are imported from Western Europe, USA, Canada, Japan, China and United Arab Emirates. In the 1960s, there were hardly any *mtumba* in the Kenyan markets. Then *mtumba* were referred to as *marehemu George*, meaning the clothes of dead people personified by the dead King of England, George. This was in order to discourage people from wearing them. It was only desperate people who had

to wear clothes left behind by the dead. One, therefore, had to be extremely poor in order to wear *mtumba*. In those days, the material circumstances allowed Kenyans to conserve their pride. As Olukoshi, 1998; Havnevik, 2000:27; Gibbon and Bangura, 1992; explain, during the 1960s up to early 1970s, the economies of African countries, were performing relatively well and causing positive development. This was more so in Kenya where the people were enjoying the standard of living that nowadays they remember only with nostalgia.

Today the trade in *mtumba* has grown to be one of the largest formal and informal economies in the country. One of the biggest import commodities of the country is *mtumba*. The largest markets in Kenyan urban areas deal with *mtumba* items. Thousands of people earn their living through buying and selling *mtumba*. The majority of Kenyans now wear *mtumba*. Kenyans who are increasingly being turned into hawkers mainly as a consequence of implementation of neoliberal economic policies that cause unemployment, landlessness and lack of other alternatives of earning a living trade mostly in *mtumba*. While in the beginning one considered it a shame to wear *mtumba* and if he or she had to he or she would not reveal the fact, today *mtumba* have been accepted as part and parcel of life and are bought, sold and used openly and without shame.

The harsh living conditions brought about by the implementation of neoliberal economic policies, corruption and mismanagement, that as in most Sub-Saharan Africa began in the mid-1970s (Hamrell and Nordberg, 1992:7; Mohan, Brown, Milward Zack-Williams, 2000:4; Havnevik, 2000:26-40) described so graphically by Olukoshi (1998) are eroding the pride of Kenyans. Today the majority of Kenyans are so poor that they cannot afford to buy new clothes. As poverty escalates and the

structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund cut more and more jobs through retrenchments brought through the 'rationalisation' of the civil service, privatisation of state enterprises and the closure of local manufacturing and business enterprises unable to compete with foreign industries, the number of those who rely on the selling and buying of *mtumba* is increasing rapidly. Second hand clothes are seen and even accepted as the solution in a situation where millions will go naked without them. The problem is that while *mtumba* may alleviate the immediate problem it is certainly not the long-term solution to poverty and underdevelopment. On the contrary, *mtumbaism* contributes to undermining local textile industry and related agriculture and trade (Kantai,1999:55-71) Its implication to the cultures and humanity of Kenyans and the future of the country is horrendous, to say the least.

2.1.2. Other *mtumba* commodities

Again, in the beginning *mtumba* was mostly only about clothes. However, today the majority of Kenyans buys and uses all sorts of *mtumba* commodity: clothing of all sorts including socks, innerwear's, blankets, bed-sheets, curtains; carpets; utensils; toys; books; cell phones; computers; machines of all sorts; furniture; etc. Many vehicles and most cars on Kenyan roads are *mtumbas* imported mostly from Japan and also from Europe, many of which enter the country via Dubai and are therefore also called dubais (Kantai, ibid.). The cars also use second hand tires and other second-hand spare-parts imported from Europe and Japan. All sorts of food-stuffs, milk, eggs, sugar, meat, fruits, a lot of which is considered as *mtumba* in their country of origins, are sold in the Kenyan supermarkets and open markets. Foods that today in the West is regarded as junk food and therefore unhealthy has of late appeared in the Kenyan

markets and are becoming more and more popular to the middle class, thanks to trade liberalisation. Tobacco and beer multinational corporations that are prohibited from advertising in the Western countries advertise freely in Kenya and encourage alcohol and cigarette addiction.

2.1.3. Kenyans are consuming *mtumba* ideas and culture

Mtumbaism is not about material goods a lone. It is also about, education, ideas, culture. In the era of great scientific and technological revolutions in the world, particularly information technology, Kenyans import *mtumba* knowledge from the West. Books that are no longer needed in schools in Europe and USA are either sold in the streets, bookshops or donated for use in nursery, primary and secondary schools, colleges and universities in Kenya.

The Kenyan mass media depend on foreign news agencies for the global news they print and broadcast to Kenyans. The majority of the Kenyan journalist, whether from the print or electronic media, write and broadcast platitudes that only strengthen neoliberalism ideals. Foreign films, many of which were produced several months or years ago, dominate Kenyan television stations, shops and street markets. And while this is happening local films made by local artists struggle to exist. Second hand commercial advertisements are preferred to local made ones to the detriment of local advertising companies.

2.1.4. *Mtumbaism* is a manifestation of neoliberal globalisation

Mtumbaism is manifestation of the brutal effects of neoliberal globalisation in Kenya (see also Coronel & Dixit, 2006:13-27). It is a testimony about how the process of capitalist globalisation that is rationalised, institutionalised, propagated and enforced upon countries like Kenya through multilateral institutions,

agreements and rules—foremost the World Trade Ogranisation, World Bank, International Monetary Fund and Multilateral Agreements on Investments—has made other human beings second hand citizens of the world (Kantai, ibid.; Okwembah & Lukalo, 1999:41-54). It is about inequality between the North and the South, the rich and the poor, in the era of globalisation based on capitalist ideology and praxis, and how this relationship impacts upon the livelihoods, economies, cultures and psychology of the people of both countries (Brie, 2009:18-26). It is about injustice to the poor and the desperate struggle for survival of the people whom Fanon (1967) called the wretched of the earth, people who today have to depend on things and ideas produced and disposed of by other people. *Mtumbaism* is a manifestation of the brutality of capitalism and imperialism.

In spite of the imposition of *mtumbaism* upon Kenya, the people are made to believe that capitalism is not only inevitable, insurmountable but also the panacea of their problems. What is even worse, the Kenyan people are misguided that the imperialist multilateral system cannot and ought not to be challenged. This is precisely what motivated this research and report that contends that neoliberal globalization can be challenged, has been challenged and must be challenged (Tandon, 2002; Development Dialogue, 2007; Allain, 2005; and Ouma, 2007:112-116). Another form of globalization that aspires for justice, equality, peace, sustainable development and human solidarity within and between nations is possible (Camilleri, Malhotra, & Tehranian, 2000; Castro, 2000; Chavez, 2003). Therefore, Kenyan people have a right and duty to join other people in the world in the struggle for the alternative globalization that will liberate them and the world from *mtumbaism* (Mghanga, 2003:93-117;

Nzomo, 2003:47-67; Wandia, 68-73; and Kaara, 74-77; Okumu, 78-92).

3. Aims and objectives of the baseline research

The research and consequent report that is summarized in this paper was motivated by the situation in the country described in (2) above. The research had the following specific objectives:

1. To establish the awareness of legislators, small-scale farmers, artisanal-fisherfolk and small-scale traders about the following:
    a) the workings and impacts of global economic policies.
    b) the purpose and operations of Multilateral Trading System superintended by WTO.
    c) appreciations of bilateral trade agreements and initiatives (e.g. Economic Partnership between ACP and EU member states, AGOA, etc. and their relations with WTO.
    d) the role of the named stakeholders in trade negotiations and ways in which they can influence negotiations.
    e) The emerging trade concerns and how they are likely to affect them.
2. To assess the production and market challenges experienced by productive target groups.
3. To establish the target groups' level of engagement in trade negotiation process and in which they have influenced the processes over the last five years.
4. To assess the level of dialogue and consultations between target groups and other stakeholders in trade negotiations.

5. To identify capacity gaps or constraints that hinder effective engagement of the target groups in trade discourse and ways of addressing these gaps.
6. To formulate recommendations and suggestions based on the findings of the survey.

4. Methodology

The research used both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative research involved reviewing relevant literature, particularly on globalization; bilateral and multilateral policies and agreements on trade and related issues; economic and political reforms informed by World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The literature review informed the analysis of this report and is the reference that is included at the end of the report.

Through qualitative methods, I conducted both formal and informal interviews and discussions with legislators, small-scale farmers, small-scale traders and artisanal fisher folk. In the case of formal interviews, I arranged for time and place and provided prepared questions before hand. But in most cases I conducted informal interviews and discussions in which I approached and discussed with the targeted stakeholders in their work places and at various places where I met them.

Observations were a very important method that I used in the research. Being a researcher does not remove me from being part and parcel of Kenyan society. For this reason, as I conducted research I kept my eyes and ears open to see and hear about the real dynamics of trade and economic life in everyday Kenya. Reports and discussions about trade and economic related issues in the Kenyan print and electronic media were part and parcel of the observations that form the content and analysis of this report. So too are my personal firsthand experiences about the research

issues as a legislator from 2003-2007, readings and participation in various meetings in Kenya and abroad.

5. The relevance of the research and report

The dynamic process of globalisation, particularly neo-liberal globalisation, which is in fact global capitalism spearheaded by imperialist nations (Bullard, 2007:7-13) has defied nation-state boundaries to penetrate the remotest parts of the world and nations where both its positive and negative effects are being felt on a daily basis. However, the process of globalization of capitalism, its positive achievements and dynamism aside, does not imply the expansion of the benefits of the rapid scientific, technological and economic development to all countries and all continents, but rather an attempt to create a unified world system, with a handful of capitalist countries (led by those of Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development - OECD), with 10% of natural and human resources of the world—prospering by appropriating 90% of the resources of the countries of the South, where billions of people are compelled to backwardness and misery and to a non-capitalist and agrarian societies (Njem, 2000:11-12; Camilleri, Malhotra & Tehranian:13-16).

The most important aspect of neoliberal globalisation is the political unity of the imperialist states (G8) of imposing this process as a rule of an international legal system legalizing the inclusion of the non-capitalist countries, as periphery, into the capitalist world system (Njem, ibid.). Bilateral and multilateral economic and trade policies and agreements coordinated and implemented through World Trade Organisation and the twin Britton Woods Institutions—the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Funds—are bedrocks of the neo-colonial

economic and trade policies imposed upon Kenya and other African and developing nations (Prah, 2002:24).

Capitalist globalisation is affecting and determining negatively the economic, political, social and legal policies of developing countries (Camilleri, Malhotra & Tehranian:9-25; Plahe, 1999), including Kenya. Bilateral and Multilateral policies and agreements signed in capital cities far away from Kenya and Kenyan villages nevertheless have direct and indirect impacts on lives and livelihoods not only in the cities and towns but also in the villages in rural areas, whether the people concerned are aware of them or not (Coronel & Dixit, ibid.) Yet the policies and agreements are about the conduct of economy, politics, trade, agriculture, food safety and security, environment, labour relations, property relations and most important the relation between Kenya and other countries and nations, particularly imperialist countries (Shalatek, 2001; Allardice & Tandon, 2004) which have far reaching effects on the lives, livelihoods, culture, health and security of the people and nation.

However, as important as they are to the present and future of the country, these imperialists' policies together with their organisations remain obscure and remote to the majority of the population despite their effects upon their lives. Little is known about the multilateral and bilateral organisations and institutions by the majority of Kenyans who have to live with their decisions and practises approved and signed by the Government without their participation.

Again, numerous and complex as they are, the multilateral economic and trade policies and agreements are still deliberately opaque, covered with secrets, intrigues and signed by the Governments, many times through positions of ignorance, and without their participation and that of their people:

The WTO is probably the most non-transparent of international organisations. Most, if not all, of its key decisions are worked out in formal meetings. In many cases, only few countries are invited to these meetings. Where these meetings take place, when and who attends, as well as the positions taken by various countries, are not made known. When these small informal groups work out decisions among themselves, these are taken before the formal meetings and made into decisions… Most times, the "major countries" (the largest developed countries) get the decisions they want. A few countries are able to veto issues or decisions they do not want even if the vast majority of countries agree to them (Plahe, ibid.,77).

Thus, the process of reaching agreements of the multilateral economic and trade organisations Kenya is committed to, such as WTO, is unjust and undemocratic, to say the least (see also Chomsky, 2009:12). The Kenyan Government, that ought to practise democracy, human rights, good governance, transparency and accountability and to champion national interests at home and abroad ought also to make concerted efforts to involve the citizens in understanding, discussing, making decisions and taking positions about the complex multilateral and bilateral policies before committing the country to them. In fact, Kenyan CSOs and NGOs are justified in demanding involvement in this regard. Tandon (2002) cautions African Governments,

"Above all, refuse to sign agreements under the WTO without first understanding and analysing the implications. Unlike agreements made under IMF and the World Bank those made under WTO are not reversible and are subject to judicial process of WTO and unilateral sanctions by the powerful against the weak".

The above concerns about the need and right of Kenyan stakeholders—who include legislators, small-scale farmers, small-scale traders and artisanal fisher folk—to be informed, consulted and involved in various ways in the negotiations between the Government and the bilateral and multilateral organisations justify the need for this research.

Furthermore, it is important to increase awareness among Kenyans that neoliberal globalization has been and continues to be challenged, in theory and practise, throughout the world by progressive leaders and governments (for example Chavez, ibid. & Castro, ibid.), intellectuals, and particularly by progressive Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), political parties and movements (Social Democratic Party of Kenya - SDP; Plahe, ibid.:77-78; Bulard, 2008:7-13; Smith, 2008:5-19; Mooney, 2008:23-28; Shiva, 2008:31-38; Bond, 2008:41-46; Dag Hammarskjöld, 2008:48-49; Waterman, 2008:51-55; Coronel & Dixit, 2006:27; Bidwai, 2006:60-62; Camilleri, Malhotra & Tehranian, 1997; The Crucible II Group, 2000; SEATINI, 2002; Ouma, 2007).

This research and report calls for all efforts to be made to organize and mobilize the masses and all progressive forces to struggle for an alternative form of globalization that will remove them from neoliberal globalization, *mtumbaism*, and take them along the development path of utilizing their human and natural resources to realize their development potentials while, at the same time, being in solidarity with other people of the world.

6. Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework of the research and analysis of this report and paper is based on dialectical materialism which is the realization that comprehending a problem or situation is to see it from its material base that ultimately determines it and within a

time or historical perspective, how it has arisen and how it has come to be what it is. Furthermore, the economic and trade processes that are the subject of the research are neither static nor isolated from other processes—including social, political and cultural—in the country and the world. Rather it is in their dynamism and interconnectedness that trade and economic phenomena exist and should best be studied and understood.

As already explained, this research and report is motivated by the reality of Kenya today (see 2.1. in this report/paper). It is an effort of searching for the reasons for the persistent crisis of underdevelopment in Kenya and what needs to be done to bring about sustainable solutions. My premise is that the present crisis has been brought about both by past and present internal and external contradictions. The solutions should, therefore, be sought from both internal and external factors, starting from internal factors since Kenyans and Africans are also human beings like any others in the world capable of making independent and conscious choices (Babu, August 1979:70-72; September 1979:85-87; December 1979:68-70; January 1986:63; Othman, 2001).

The Kenyan leadership has failed the country through reactionary policies within the country and by giving in to the policies of imperialists multilateral institutions. At home they have betrayed the people through greed, corruption, tribalism, nepotism, cronyism, violations of human rights and dictatorship. At the same time, they continue to implement neoliberal economic reforms imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund that have not only caused a lot of unnecessary pain to the majority of the people but that have in fact also hitherto failed to change things for the better. For greed, personal aggrandizement and sometimes ignorance Kenyan leaders have

surrendered national freedom and sovereignty through committing the country to economic and trade policies and agreements that they least understand and that are used by imperialist countries that make them to manage world trade for the benefit of imperialist nations, MNCs and TNCs (Plahe, ibid.).

Although international aid based on principles of international solidarity of alternative globalization is welcome and required to help trigger sustainable development, ultimately, Kenyans should not expect their problems to be solved by foreigners on their behalf. As a matter of fact, fifty years of dependency on foreign aid and of implementing policies made by foreigners in foreign countries and imposed upon Kenya through the imperialist multilateral organizations of trade and economy have not solved Kenya's problems of poverty and underdevelopment. Instead, they have distorted the countries development priorities, killed local initiatives while escalating poverty, the debt burden and dependency.

It is, therefore, imperative for the present and any future leadership of Kenya to be forced by the united and organised struggle of progressive forces and the masses representing various interests, to consult and negotiate with them before they negotiate with foreigners and foreign institutions on behalf of the nation. Political and economic solutions that have come from above and outside have not worked hitherto and in fact have led to the present crisis. The search for solutions must start from below, the grassroots and from the Kenyan people themselves. Thus people that are affected directly and indirectly by polices made by their leaders and by policies and agreements signed with multilateral and bilateral organisations, must struggle to be involved in understanding and deciding about them (Hyden, 2006:183-201; Mooney, 2006:2003-213; Shiva, 2007:33-35;

Bond, 2007:41-49; Waterman, 2007:51-57). Rather than being taught by imperialists about how to negotiate and deal with imperialists' institutions and policies, Kenyans should instead negotiate among themselves to form the necessary alternative national policies and to forge national consensus in readiness for the struggle against the imperialist multilateral system.

All stakeholders of trade, including Civil Society Organisations, Community Based Organisations, traders big and small, farmers big and small, artisanal fisher folk, manufactures big and small, media, elected leaders including parliamentarians and chancellors, workers and trade unions, peasants, etc. must now be organised and mobilised to demand information, accountability and involvement about international policies and agreements signed by Government on behalf of the country.

7. The scope of the research

The objectives of the research were too broad and ambitious to be studied within a period of fourteen days even for a baseline research. Our research could, therefore, only touch upon the six thematic areas identified as specific objectives and to suggest the direction which the future much required research should take.

8. Research findings

8.1. Level of awareness of legislators, small-scale traders, small-scale farmers, artisanal fisher folk

I interviewed and discussed with legislators, small-scale traders, small-scale farmers and artisanal fisher folk about the workings and impacts of global economic policies and the purpose and operations of multilateral trading system superintended by WTO. I inquired from them about their level of awareness about bilateral and multilateral trade agreements and initiatives such as, Economic Partnership between African Caribbean and Pacific Countries (ACP) and European Union

(EU) member states, African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA), and their relations with WTO. I also asked about their awareness and involvement about East African Community (EAC) and Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). I also asked about the role of the four stakeholders in trade negotiations and ways in which they can influence negotiations. I tried to find out from them whether they are aware of the emerging trade concerns and how they are likely to affect them.

8.1.1. Legislators

From the interviews and observations I found out the following:

a) Most Members of Parliament have hardly any idea about the multilateral system of trade led by World Trade Organization and how it impacts upon Kenya and other developing nations.
b) There is hardly any awareness among parliamentarians regarding bilateral and multilateral trade agreements signed by the Government on behalf of the country.
c) In most cases, Kenyan legislators are not furnished with information about global economic and trade policies and agreements signed by the Kenyan Government on behalf of the country.
d) Few questions are asked in Parliament regarding the trade agreements and policies that have far reaching effects to the economy of the nation.
e) The Members of Parliament do not always know that the problems of Kenya are caused by both internal and external factors. They concentrate on internal factors of corruption, tribalism, violence, insecurity, bad infrastructure, bad governance, etc. which are true but not the only factors.

f) Although issues of bilateral and multilateral trade policies and agreements are discussed in the relevant parliamentarian committees of Trade and Defense and Foreign Affairs, their reports hardly receive the attention and interest of the Committee of the Whole House. Few MPs show interests in issues of multilateral system of trade governed by WTO although it has far reaching effects to the economy and development of the country.
g) It is also claimed by MPs that the President, Ministers and Civil Servants avoid providing information about economic and trade agreements they sign with foreign countries and institutions. They provided as examples the agreements made by the President and Prime Minister with the Libyan Government that led to the sale of Grand Regency Hotel to Libya; the agreements signed between Kenya and the Government of Qatar that gave Qatar Government access to land for farming and development in Kenya. Again, agreements between the Government and the Britton Wood's institutions of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund are hardly discussed in parliament. This information is only seen in annual budgets where MPs are used as rubber stamps.
h) Parliamentarians are not aware of alternative policies to neoliberal globalization. Most believe that neoliberal globalization—capitalism—despite the injustices it causes to the majority of citizens is good, inevitable and the country has to adjust to it whether it likes it or not.

8.1. 2. Small-scale traders

We found out that:

a) Small-scale traders complain about economic liberalization and failure of the Government to protect and nurture local trade.
b) The juakali (handcraft) manufactures complain about dumping of cheap goods from China, Dubai, India, etc., that prevent the development of local small-scale manufacturing and trade.
c) Small-scale traders complain about unfair trade from goods that enter the country without paying taxes.
d) Small-scale traders who deal with food products import grains, fruits, bananas, onions and other food-stuffs from Uganda and Tanzania that are sold in Kenyan markets including Nairobi.
e) Kenyan traders travel to Uganda, Tanzania and around the region and import shoes, clothing and other goods that they sell in Kenya. They trade with traders from Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan.
f) Many Kenyans travel to China, Turkey, Pakistan, India, Dubai and other places and import all sorts of goods that they sell in Kenya.
g) However, the Government hardly controls this trade and the traders are hardly aware of the multilateral institutions and agreements signed by the Government that sanctions this trade. Neither are they aware of the multilateral trade and economic systems and its impacts upon them. They simply trade.

8.1.3. Small-scale farmers

Small-scale farmers complain about the problems that affect them and blame the Government for ignoring small-scale farmers. They complain about the high prices of inputs, bad infrastructure, low prices for their products and unfair competition at the markets. They are aware of the importation of cheap food-stuffs from abroad that enhances competition at the limited home market and the Government's failure to promote and protect local agriculture. But they are hardly aware about the dynamics of the neoliberal multilateral system of trade under the WTO.

8.1.4. Artisanal fisher folk

Neoliberal globalization is destroying the livelihoods of artisanal fisher folk (see also Degnbol, 1992:217-220). Apart from overfishing, most fish is exported to urban areas, especially Nairobi. It is also exported to the European Union and Japan by rich and more sophisticated traders of fish. As a consequence of capitalist globalization of fish trade, fish is now more expensive where it comes from than in the urban areas where it is exported to. This is having a negative impact upon food security and livelihoods of the artisanal fisher folk. It is also escalating poverty and underdevelopment.

But the fisher folk are hardly aware of the multilateral system of trade under WTO that is increasingly impacting negatively upon their livelihoods. There are, however, local organizations with connections with global fisher folk organizations that aim at creating awareness among artisanal fisher folk in the country concerning their threatened culture and livelihoods and relations with the multilateral neoliberal system of trade (see 8.3.9).

8. 2. The production and market challenges experienced by small-scale farmers, small-traders and artisanal fisher folk

8.2. 1. Introduction: Micro and Small Enterprises (MSEs)

The research was concerned about the experience of small-scale farmers, small-scale traders and artisanal fisher folk in relation to trade. In this regard, small-scale farmers, small-scale traders and artisanal fisher folk are part and parcel of what is described by the Kenyan Government as micro and small enterprises—MSEs (Republic of Kenya, 2005; Republic of Kenya, 2003-2007).

MSEs are "formal and informal sectors employing 1-50 workers", (Republic of Kenya, 2005:5). This definition includes small-scale agricultural activities and juakali (handcraft) manufacturing (Republic of Kenya, ibid.). Since the term is used by Kenya Government's policy documents, its limitation aside, I will also use it in this report to refer to small-scale farmers, small-scale traders and artisanal fisher folk that were the subject of the research.

According to the Kenyan Government, MSEs play a very important role to the economy of the country, making the Government to find it necessary to produce three national policy papers about them hitherto. MSEs are said to make significant contribution to economic growth, employment creation, poverty alleviation and the creation of the country's industrial base (Republic of Kenya, ibid., 7). The MSEs economic sector is growing very fast:

According to the 1999 MSE Baseline Survey, the number of enterprises in the sector has grown from 910,000 in 1993 to about 1.3 million in 1999. Out of 1.3 million enterprises in 1999, about 66% were located in rural areas while women owned 48% of the enterprises. According to the survey, 64.3% of the MSEs are in

trade, 14.8% in services, 13.4% in are in manufacturing while 7.7% are involved in other activities. … According to the 1999 MSEs Baseline Survey, the Sector employed 2.4 million persons. This increased to 5.1 million persons in 2002 per the 2003 Economic Survey and translates to 675,000 jobs per year.

While the Government seems to insinuate that the increase in the number of MSEs and the number of people they employ is an indication of development, this is not in fact the case. The growing importance of MSEs is due to *mtumbaism*, the effects of neoliberal globalization to the economy and development of the country. As Kenyan industries and businesses are forced to close due the impact of dumping of goods and services brought about by trade liberalization, many Kenyans become unemployed. Privatization of parastatals, civil service reforms brought about by the implementation of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund also cut jobs through retrenchments and contributes to the growth of MSEs. The unemployed people have no choice other than trying to eke a living through MSEs, most of which is in fact hawking in urban areas or rural market places. The majority of Kenyans are forced to be hawkers of imported cheap, sub-standard and secondhand goods for lack of a better alternative.

As "MSEs on average employ 1-2 workers while over 70 percent employ only one person (Republic of Kenya (ibid., 6)", they hardly play any significance role in terms of employment as individual enterprises. They are more of subsistence, coping or survival mechanisms of the victims of the impacts of neoliberal globalization in Kenya. The MSEs involved in juakali manufacturing do not last long, no sooner are they started than they become bankrupt and close. They also do not grow to medium or large size enterprises and can therefore not form the

basis of industrialization of the country (Republic of Kenya, ibid., 6). In fact, the objective conditions of capitalist globalization in Kenya are not only the major cause of MSEs but also cannot allow them to grow towards large medium-scale or large-scale enterprises. On the contrary, most manufacturing and trade MSEs eventually die and the owners either leave and subsist on any job they find, or become subsistence farmers or paupers. Small-scale farming MSEs are ruined into subsistence farming and are protected from plunging into pauperism only because at least they own the land in which they live and subsist upon.

Were the Government committed towards industrialization, it could have made more deliberate efforts to at least nurture and develop the creativity that is found at juakali manufacturing sectors such as those in Kamkunji and other urban and rural areas of the country. It is also important to note that most MSEs participate in trade informally, are not registered and as such do not pay taxes. Therefore, apart from helping the citizens to survive, they hardly contribute directly to the growth of the national economy.

8.2.2. Production challenges of MSEs

The Government identifies several challenges that face MSEs in general. These include unfavorable policy environment and inhibitive legal and regulatory framework; limited access to financial services and markets; inadequate access to skills and technology; insecurity of land tenure; poor infrastructure; inadequate business know-how and linkages with large enterprises; gender inequality; job quality deficits; unfair competition from cheap imported goods; limited access to information and unsatisfactory occupational health and safety standards (see also Republic of Kenya, 2005:7).

8.2.3. Market challenges of MSEs

According to the Government of Kenya (Republic of Kenya, ibid:9-10), one of the most important challenges facing MSEs is access to markets. These include low demand; overproduction; saturation of markets due to damping, lack of information about markets due to high transaction costs; unfair competition due to some imported goods entering local markets without paying the required taxes; inability to access to foreign trade through such means as electro commerce. Only few MSEs are able to engage in export markets,

As a result, most MSEs are confined to very narrow local markets where intense competition drives prices down, resulting in very low profit margins. In many cases, the market mechanisms that can deal with these problems are either missing or weak. Also, a small capital base and limited technological sophistication confine MSEs to products and services, which cannot compete effectively in a globalize and competitive market environment due to quality limitations (Republic of Kenya, ibid:9-10).

The market challenges of MSEs are, in fact, the objective conditions of small-scale trade under the capitalist system. MSEs cannot compete with large-scale industries and businesses that are more organized, with a larger capital base, and more prepared to access local and foreign capital and markets. Large-scale industries and businesses also enjoy economies of scale as well. Small-scale traders, including hawkers, compete fiercely among themselves in selling all types of goods, including *mtumba* of all types, most of which are imported. There is little local demand not because the people do not need the goods, but because they are too poor to afford them. Thus urban markets are full of all sorts of foodstuffs that rot for staying too long before they are

bought, while at the same time, the majority of the people are at the brink of hunger and starvation. Kenyan urban areas are full of tiny shops of owners—mostly young persons—competing against each other to sell imported cellphones, clothes, electronic goods, etc. In order to develop local industry and trade, strategies should be devised and implemented of poverty eradication to stimulating local demand.

8.2.3. Small-scale traders

8.2.3.1. Introduction

During the course of the research we visited Githurai Market, Gikombaa Market, Gikombaa Fish Market, Ngara Vegetable Market, City Market and Kamkunji Juakali.

8.2.3.2. Production challenges

There are several production challenges that face small-scale traders that are also identified by the Government (see Republic of Kenya, ibid.). These include:

a) Unfavorable policy environment and inhibitive legal and regulatory framework. Although the Government has developed three national policy papers on small-scale trade (see for example Republic of Kenya, 2005; Republic of Kenya, 2003-2007) it is yet to implement the policies of supporting the growth of small-scale businesses and manufacturing. Small-scale trade remains chaotic and it is hard to distinguish between informal and formal small-scale trading. Under such circumstances small-scale trade hardly contributes to the national economy in terms of taxes.

b) Limited access to financial services. Many small-scale traders complain that they cannot access financial services to expand their trade easily. Local banks that encourage small-scale traders to apply for loans prefer to

provide the loans to the traders who form groups as this allows them to recover their money more easily from the traders who lack other forms of collateral. However, it is not always easy for small-scale traders to form the groups.

c) Inadequate access to skills and technology. Small-scale traders need assistance to acquire more advanced machines, skills and technology to develop their manufacturing. They also require marketing and management skills.
d) Insecurity of land tenure. Small-traders that include juakali manufactures, lack space to conduct their manufacturing and market their products. In fact, conflicts between the small-scale traders and the local government authorities is part and parcel of life in Kenyan urban areas.
e) Juakali artisans complain about high prices of raw materials, such as wood, scrap metal and new metal.
f) Lack of adequate place causes manufacturing, food marketing and processing to take place under unclean conditions that are not conducive for health. Food is also transported and stored under conditions not good for health.
g) Poor infrastructure. Poor infrastructure, especially of roads, water and electricity, is a great impediment to small-scale trade and manufacturing.
h) Insecurity is also a big challenge to small-scale traders and manufactures who have to employ watchmen to safeguard their goods.

i) Inadequate business know-how and linkages with large enterprises and foreign markets are also challenges to small-scale trade and manufacturing.

8.2.3.3. Market challenges

The market challenges of small-scale farmers include:

a) Fierce competition over access to limited markets of the same produce and products.
b) Low purchasing power. People need the goods but they are too poor to buy them.
c) Saturation of markets due to damping. Juakali artisans complain about unfair competition from plastic products and cheap substandard imported goods from Dubai, China and other places.
d) Competition with large-scale traders. Large-scale traders enjoy economies of scale, cheap imports, better marketing strategies and access to information and finance. Small-scale traders cannot compete with large-scale traders in this regard.
e) Unfair competition due to some imported goods entering local markets without paying the required taxes;
f) Inability to access to foreign trade through such means as electro commerce. Electronic commerce remains a myth to most small-scale traders.

8.2.4. Small-scale farming

8.2.4.1. Introduction

We visited, made observations and talked to small-scale farmers at Werugha in Taita, around Kiambu District and Nairobi. Small-scale farming for both subsistence and cash crops is the dominant agricultural activity in Kenya. Most people in Kenyan live in rural areas where agricultural activity of food crops and cash-crops such as tea, coffee, pyrethrum, sugarcane

and milk production are the main economic activities. It is hard to draw a line between subsistence farming and cash-crop farming since small-scale farmers in the rural areas use whatever they produce both for their food needs and selling in order to meet other basic needs such as essential manufactured products found in markets near them and other commodities. Small-scale farming is also used to acquire essential services such as education and health. Throughout Kenya, commodity production is now part and parcel of farming, whether large-scale or small-scale.

8.2.4.2. Production challenges

Despite its importance to the national economy, small-scale farming is actually peasantry farming and embodies all the characteristics and contradictions of peasantry agriculture that makes Babu, 1979:47, to suggest "peasant agriculture is not an ideal state to be retained forever. It should be gotten rid of in as short a historical period as possible". The production challenges of the peasant based small-scale farming include the following:

a) It is archaic, drudgery and hardly changes overtime and uses humble tools of jembes, donkey or cow pulled jembes, and pangas that are leftovers of thousands of years of human history.
b) The primitive tools limit the production capacity of the peasants. The farmers cannot utilize the tools to farm large pieces of land and in time even if they had access to it.
c) The farmers also have only little access to improved agricultural technology aimed at increasing farming methods and yields. The structural adjustments programs of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund forced the Government to reduce and privatize

agricultural extension services. This has impacted negatively to small-scale farming.

d) Land tenure system also inhibits agricultural production of small-scale farming. Most families own too little land that besides has been sub-divided into small pieces of land for homes and production of individual members of families. Little land is left for production.
e) Land tenure and poor technology also contributes to erosion of the soil and environment that leads to soil infertility and low yields.
f) There is too much dependency on inputs such as fertilizer and insecticides that not only increase the cost of production, but ruin the soils in the long run.
g) Preservation and storage facilities are hindrance to agricultural production. A lot of grains and crops are lost during, just before harvesting, during harvesting and after harvesting.
h) Too much dependence on seasonal rainfall. The effects of climatic change are ruining small-scale farming producing hunger and starvation. Small-scale farming is now unable even to meet subsistence needs.

This type of farming that is also export oriented with more emphasis on cash-crop production than food-crop production is encouraged by the agricultural reforms that were imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Even progressive individuals and organizations often romanticize peasant based agriculture and believe that it ought to be reformed and not transformed. Yet with this type of farming, the lives of the peasants hardly change for the better. On the contrary they tend to become worse and more so now following the effects of climate change that is ruining agricultural activities in the

country. Many peasants are forced to migrate from the countryside to urban areas where they are confronted with the harsh reality of urban life of the capitalist system.

Responding to a meeting held in Rome on agrarian reforms and rural development in 1979, Babu, ibid. captured the production challenges of small-scale farmers.

The present hunger in Africa is not a problem of land reform or lack of political power by the peasants. It is a problem of peasant agriculture—small-scale, patriarchal—and it engenders capitalism daily, hourly, spontaneously and on an expanded scale. The natural economy of the peasants tends to perpetuate the old processes of production and repeats them on the previous scale and often on previous technical basis. Its economic units exist for centuries without changing in size and character, each isolated from the other. This isolation and seclusion has resulted in the notorious narrowness of the intellectual and political life of the peasants which the elites, to whom the "Rome Declaration Group" are opposed, exploit to the advantage.

8.2.4.3. Market challenges

Small-scale farmers are faced with many market challenges that are based on the nature of peasantry agriculture, poverty and underdevelopment. The challenges include the following:

a) Geographical proximity to markets-urban areas. Those farmers, like the surrounding areas of Nairobi for example, who are near urban areas and shopping centers have more access to markets for their produce. The farther the farmers are away from urban and shopping centers, the less access they have to markets from their produce.
b) Population density of the area where production takes place. The greater the population near agricultural

production, the more is the demand for farm produce. The converse also applies.

c) Increasing unemployment and poverty. Food is in the market, people are hungry and starving yet they cannot afford it. There is little home market for agricultural produce, despite food insecurity in the country.
d) Many farmers lack information about how to market their produce and are exploited by middlemen and market-women. As a consequence the middlemen and market-women gain more profit from the agricultural produce than the farmers who actually produced it.
e) Intense competition due to the chaotic nature of the economy which is not planned. Most farmers plant and harvests similar crops and the same time and take them to the markets at the same time competing to sell same similar products. This creates a lot of wastage nationally.
f) Unfair competition, imported agricultural goods find their way to the market without paying taxes. Due to trade agreements within the East African Community, goods—including agricultural produce—from Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi enter Kenyan markets without paying tariffs. Yet Kenyan products have to pay tariffs to access the markets of other member countries.
g) Bad infrastructure leading to markets increases transportation costs to the markets.
h) Low prices for agricultural goods, due to intense competition, especially food crops.
i) Small scale farmers cannot access export markets, they have to pass through large-scale farmers who take advantage of the situation to exploit them.

j) Numerous barriers, tariffs and rules made by the European Union, Japan and USA to regulate agricultural imports, especially food produce, from Kenya are major market constraints to Kenyan small-scale farmers.
k) Kenyan small-scale farm produce is ill prepared to compete in the liberalized global food markets dominated by large-scale farmers, multinationals and transnational.
l) Lack of policies and measures to protect local agriculture from the dumping of foreign agricultural produce impact negatively on small-scale farmers.

The market challenges of small-scale farmers are also summarized by Babu, ibid. in the following words:

Peasant productivity cannot be improved dramatically in a way that is necessary for extended reproduction. Conversely, because of their subsistence agriculture they do not have the purchasing power essential for the development of a viable home market which is the only means of extricating ourselves from dependency and set in motion development process. Without development we cannot wage our three prolonged struggle against nature, exploitation and archaic mode of production. Without production, furthermore—well, starvation.

Many years later since Babu wrote these words, which were a sort of early warning to Africans, there is hunger and starvation in Kenya more often than not.

8.2.5. Artisanal fisher folk

8.2.5.1. Introduction: definition of artisanal fisher folk

Artisanal fisheries are normally carried by small-scale fishing units, often consisting of groups of relatives, friends or people coming from the same village or locality. Artisanal fisher folk mostly use small boats, mitumbwi, ngalawa, etc. and sometimes powered small boats or none at all. The fishing activity is often

part-time, and household income maybe by other non-fishing activities such as small-scale or subsistence farming.

"Payment to fishermen is often on share basis and vessels and gear are usually owner operated. Gear is normally operator assembled and requires minimal or non-machine assistance to operate. Investment levels are relatively low, with capital often borrowed from those who market the catch. Catch most often does not enter large markets, but sold at dispersed points of landing. And part or all the catch is operator or family consumed". (Hersoug & Tvedten, 1992:11).

Today, artisanal fishery, which is an intricate and complex culture, is increasingly being globalized and commercialized and is no longer only for subsistence (Lindqvist & Mölsä, 1992:194; Madala, 9.3.13. in this report; Havnevik & Hårsnar, 1999:59-65). Market oriented artisanal fishery is observed throughout the Coast in Lamu, Malindi, Kilifi, Mombasa South Coast; Lake Victoria: Kisumu, Homa Bay, Port Victoria; Lake Turkana; Lake Jipe and Lake Chala in Taveta and even Sagana in Central Province. Fish farming is also growing in Central Province and other parts of Kenya. All this is caused by the large demand for fish in rural and urban areas and also for export abroad.

8.2.5.2. Production challenges

8.2.5.2.1. Domination of fishing by large-scale fishing

Amidst all this, artisanal fisher folk face a lot of challenges from large-scale fisheries, particularly at the Coast and Lake Victoria. Large-scale fishery is characterized by the use of motorized canoes and boats of up to fifteen meters in length; crew of 15-20 people employed as full-time fishermen; highly sophisticated gear including purse seines and trawls; seasonal or semi-permanent migration to main fishing sites and markets; intense and extensive involvement in capital markets exchange

(Hersoug & Tvedten, 1992: ibid., Havnevik & Hårsmar, 1999:59-74).

Most artisanal fisher folk rely on productive means that are produced outside their local context (Hersoug & Tvedten, 1992:12). Only in rare places, such as in creation flood plain and river fisheries will all means of production be produced locally. Otherwise both fishing-gear (nets, hooks, lines, etc.) and boats, sails, outboard motors, ice, salt and sometimes even bait often have to be acquired through external channels. For motorized production groups, moreover, oil and gasoline also have a defining influence on productive capacity. Outboard engines from United States and Japan, nets and lines from China and Korea and hooks from Norway are found in the remotest fishing villages.

As a result of all this, fishing in Kenya is increasingly being dominated by rich fish traders who control production, pricing and marketing from a distance away in Nairobi and other urban areas and even from abroad. This is at the expense of small-scale fishery that has been the part and parcel of the culture of the people around Lake Victoria and the Coast for many centuries.

8.2.5.2.2. Lack of capital

Most artisanal fisher folk do not have capital to invest in sophisticated fishing gear or fish processing plants. Many fisher folk are forced to be employed as fishermen of rich fish traders who own the sophisticated fishing gear. Employed fisher folk have no right to the fish they catch that is the automatic property of their employers. As a result, although fishing is a very lucrative business today, it is hardly benefiting the fisher folk that are increasingly being alienated from their culture and becoming poorer by the day.

8.2.5.2.3. Exposure to the dangers of the waters

Fishing is a dangerous work and reports of boats capsizing, disappearances and deaths of fisher folk tend to be part and parcel of fishing culture.

8.2.5.2.4. Overfishing

Due to the lucrative trade, fishing has now attracted all sorts of players who want to make plenty and cheap money from the trade and export of fish. This has caused overfishing and the depleting of fish stalks by the invasion of fish breeding places. This happens at the expense of the fisher folk who have always lived around the lakes and the Sea and to whom fishing with conservation of fish has been a culture.

8.2.5.2.5. Lack of implementation of fishing policies and regulation

Fishing is now taking place in liberalized markets that operate chaotically under free for all atmosphere. The government does not protect the fisher folk from unfair competition and exploitation from fish traders. Neither does it help the fisher folk to develop and manage fishing in the liberalized markets. It watches as the fisher folk are reduced into the life of poverty and slavery as rich local and foreign traders continue to prosper (Madal, ibid.)

8.2.5.3. Market challenges

Most fishermen, who produce for subsistence and for commercial purposes, rely on some external market of exchange for sale of their fish, either directly or through intermediaries. The prices in normal cases fluctuate due to processes beyond the control of the individual fishermen such as national supply and demand, government decisions, changes in consumer preferences, etc.

Industrial fleets influences all maritime artisanal fisheries and also some of the larger inland artisanal fisheries such as Lake Victoria. The influence is both direct through industrial vessels' impact on the resource situation (overfishing) and price levels of fish, and directly through their physical presence in waters used by artisanal fleet. Trawlers too close to the shore (i.e. inside the 3-mile limit normally being defined) ravage catch, destroy gear and even endanger the lives of artisanal fishermen.

Artisanal fisher folk are exploited by the rich fish traders and exporters who not only own sophisticated fish gear but also cooling and possessing facilities. When they come to the shores with the fish after fishing overnight, they meet the rich fish traders who determine the price. The fisher folk have to sell at the price set by the rich fish traders or their fish perish since they cannot preserve them.

The external dependency is currently clearly demonstrated through the impact of structural adjustment programs that continue to be implemented in the country. Common austerity measures such as import restrictions (on outboard engines, gear and gasoline, etc.), export incentives (often on exportable such as shrimp) as well as liberalization of prices and the creation of a generally more commercial economic environment, are now profoundly changing artisanal fishery adaptations (see also Havnevik & Hårsmar, ibid.). This is robbing fisher folk of the traditional livelihoods and escalating food insecurity and poverty. As fish production and marketing is increasingly controlled by large scale traders fish is now more expensive around Kisumu and the shores of Lake Victoria than in Nairobi and other areas where it is exported to.

8.3. The level of engagement in the trade negotiation process of the trade stakeholders

8.3.1. Legislators

Legislators have hardly been engaged in trade negotiations on foreign trade under the multilateral system of WTO. Yet given their role they have a right and duty to engage in trade negotiations. The legislators or Parliamentarians are the elected representatives of the people whose duty is:

a) To make policies and enact laws, including on trade. In this case they should be involved in debating various national policies and laws including on trade. However, how effectively they can do this depends on their knowledge of the subject, ideological positions and commitment towards national interests. Many times both the two leave a lot to be desired.

b) To represent the people, including all the stakeholders of trade, such as small-scale farmers, artisanal fisher folk and small-scale traders. As the representatives of the stakeholders of trade, some of who are their constituents, they have a right and duty to negotiate about policies and laws favorable to their constituents and nation. They can and must claim to participate in the formulation of relevant trade policies and access to information regarding international bilateral and multilateral trade policies, treaties and agreements signed by the Government on behalf of the nation. They also should demand to know about what international treaties and agreements have been signed by the Executive on behalf of the country and their implications to the economy and wellbeing of the country. They could raise the concerns of the stakeholders of trade through questions to the Executive in Parliament, contributions to relevant motions and bills in

Parliament. They could even refuse to enact and ratify undesirable treaties and agreements signed by the Government on behalf of the nation and without their participation. How effective they can do this also depends on their commitment and capacity to comprehend national and international trade issues. This is mostly limited and many times relevant questions are not asked in Parliament and the legislators end up being used as rubber stamps of ratifying bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements signed by the Government many of which are not comprehended albeit they have far reaching implications to the economy, freedom and sovereignty of the nation.

c) To make budgets. Through the budget process, they can force a reluctant Minister of Trade to account for the national and international policies of the Government on trade. They can even force him or her to rescind undesirable trade policies signed by the Government with bilateral and multilateral partners.

d) To ensure that the various Government Ministries function in accordance with the law and the constitution and that public funds/taxes (budget) are managed properly. This is done through various parliamentary committees that are enshrined in the national constitution. Through the Departmental Committee for Finance, Planning and Trade, legislators can influence Government policies and negotiations on trade. The Committee is charged with the duties of scrutinizing the functioning of the Ministry of Trade, national laws on trade, bilateral and multilateral agreements between Kenya and others on trade, etc. The Departmental Committee can and should engage with other legislators and Civil Society Organizations including NGOs

and other stakeholders to scrutinize, comprehend and make relevant recommendations regarding trade agreements and negotiations on behalf of the country.

e) Finally, under a multiparty system, legislators are members of political parties and come to parliament through their political parties. Legislators can and should be engaged about their political party's trade policies, including national and foreign trade. Legislators can influence policies and negotiations on trade through pushing their political party's policies on the same. However, the level of engagement of political parties in trade and economic matters are limited hitherto. As such political parties hardly influence Government policies as they are used as mere vehicles towards acquiring elective positions. Their manifestoes hardly find place in Government policies made by bureaucrats who are yet to comprehend and appreciate in theory and practice the meaning of multiparty democracy.

8.3.2. Small-scale traders, small-scale farmers and artisanal fisher folk

Small-scale traders, small-scale farmers and artisanal fisher folk are not involved in trade negotiations at the global level that remains the domain of the Executive arm of Government. However, the stakeholders are daily involved in trade negotiations among themselves, with customers, with Local Government authorities and the Government. Some small-scale farmers, like those involved in dairy, tea, coffee, pyrethrum and sugarcane production and farming are organized in cooperatives. Trade negotiations take place within the cooperatives among members and the leadership of the cooperatives. It also takes place between the cooperatives and other stakeholders, including with the Government and large-scale traders and companies that

buy the produce. Conflicts between the small-scale agricultural producers with private and state parastatals and the leadership of the cooperatives, especially over corruption and pricing, take place more often than not. The same applies to small-scale traders and artisanal fisher folk.

8.4. The level of dialogue and consultation between legislators, small-scale traders, small-scale farmers and artisanal fisher folk and other stakeholders in trade negotiations

There is hardly any formal (organized) dialogue and consultation between legislators, small-scale traders, small-farmers and artisanal fisher folk and the Government in trade negotiations. People just trade, unaware of the global trade dynamics and the neoliberal economic policies that impact upon them. The legislators who are also best placed to initiate dialogue and consultation are themselves also not aware of their right and obligation to do so. Yet the stakeholder's consultation at the grassroots could be a good sources of ideas about what and how to negotiate about trade with bilateral and multilateral institutions in the interests of the country.

8.5. Constraints of effective engagement of the four stakeholders with other stakeholders in trade discourse and ways of addressing these gaps.

The constrains of effective engagement of legislators, small-scale traders, small-scale farmers, artisanal fisher folk and other stakeholders in trade discourse include the following:

a) A Government that is not interested at mobilizing popular support against imperialism for fear that this will turn against their own local class interests based on the capitalist political and social system.

b) Lack of understanding and appreciation by the stakeholders of the fact that Kenyan trade and economic problems are caused by both internal and external factors. In this regard, the stakeholders hardly appreciated the fact that the Government is often forced to adopt trade and economic policies determined by the multilateral system under World Trade Organization and other imperialist's institutions.

c) Alienation of the Government from the stakeholders and other citizens. Years of bad governance that include dictatorship, corruption and violations of human rights has created the conditions where leaders and the Government are not trusted by the people. People have no faith in the leaders and Government that are seen as part and parcel of the problem of the political and economic problems. All this has led to the naïve belief by Kenyans that the problems of the country will be solved by foreigners and foreign policies, institutions and ideologies.

d) Most Kenyan Civil Society Organizations, including Non-Governmental Organizations, depend on foreign donor funding of the imperialist nations. As the old adage says, "he who pays the piper sets the tone", the ideology and world view of most CBOs and NGOs is that of the donors many of which would not wish to contradict the policies of their Governments. Under these circumstances, the role of Kenyan CBOs and NGOs in creating awareness among Kenyans on the role of the impact of the imperialist system upon trade, economy and development is limited by the fear of losing donor funding. There are, however, few NGOs that are brave enough to challenge imperialism in the country.

e) Enough work has not been done to provide information to the legislators, small-scale farmers, small-scale traders,

artisanal fisher folk and other stakeholders of trade about the nature and working of the neoliberal trade and economic system under World Trade Organization and its impacts upon Kenya. There is hardly any information about the world trading and economic system spearheaded by WTO in Kiswahili that is spoken by the majority of the Kenyan people.

f) The Government is accused of hiding information to the public and even legislators about bilateral and multilateral agreements that it has signed on behalf of the country and its impact to the country. It is even reluctant to share even such information as the status of Kenya's external debt. Rather than seek the support of its citizens to deal with the pressures of the neoliberal trade and economic policies such as those of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund that have produced negative social and economic impacts, the Government instead chooses to give in, collaborate and surrender and in the process compromise national freedom and sovereignty.

g) The false belief that neoliberal globalization is good, inevitable and that there is no alternative to it. The leadership of the country, which comes from the comprador class that believes its interests are related to those of imperialism, preaches that there is no alternative way of development to that of capitalism. The media and the Government bureaucracy are dominated by persons who believe in the inevitability of market forces and neoliberal globalization. Many CBOs and NGOs are led by persons who believe that the capitalist and imperialist system can only be reformed but cannot and need not be transformed.

h) Research done by scholars and intellectuals, including those from universities and institutions of research and higher learning is ignored by the Government and is not used to formulate policy on trade and economy. Besides, knowledge in the country's universities and other institutions of learning has succumbed to the market force of capitalism. Knowledge has become a commodity to enrich individuals who have it and not to increase human security, knowledge and national freedom and development. Most university authorities and lecturers at the universities no longer think for the country but only for money and parochial interests. Education has been privatized and the right to good quality education is often denied the children of the poor who are the majority of citizens. There is therefore lack of alternative policies and ideas from those who are supposed to generate knowledge.

i) Poverty. Small-scale traders, small-scale farmers, artisanal fisher folk and other poor stakeholders are too involved in the day-to-day struggle for survival to find time to reflect about issues of internal and external trade and economy. The legislators who ought to inform and involve the stakeholders in the trade and economic matters either lack the capacity to do so or are too preoccupied with issues of amassing more wealth for themselves and retaining positions of power.

9. Recommendations and suggestions of specific activities

The recommendations are based on the realization that trade and economy of the country is influenced by both internal and external factors. At the era of neoliberal globalization, the Government of Kenya is often forced to sign and commit the country to bilateral and multilateral trade and economic agreements that often impact negatively on the development of

the country. Various stakeholders of trade are forced to live with the impacts of the trade policies and agreements signed upon by the Government without their participation. These imperialist policies continue to be an impediment to Kenya's development, social and national liberation. In the era of imperialist globalization, therefore, the need to unite all democratic and progressive forces for anti-imperialist struggle is more relevant than ever before. The struggle should assert itself more in the interest of freedom and liberation from imperialism and its institutions, policies, rules and agreements that are imposed upon Kenya, Africa, Third World Countries and the poor and exploited of the world. Generally, the research findings and constraints identified in 8.5. above should be discussed and used as the basis of devising strategies and tactics of liberating the country from the neoliberal system of trade.

9. 1. The need for research

As insinuated in section 7 in this report, there is the need for detailed research about the relevant themes identified as objectives in section 3 of this report. Further research that is aimed at documenting organizations of small-scale traders, small-scale farmers and artisanal fisher folk, finding out about their needs, views and how they can be united and mobilized to struggle for their interests at the national and international levels is required. Such research together with that already done by SEATIN Kenya, for example, should be published and disseminated to the stakeholders in simple language (such as that of Tandon, 2002) and in Kiswahili.

9.2. Capacity building seminars, workshops and meetings

Progressive NGOs and CSOs concerned with trade issues such as SEATIN Kenya should develop programs, including capacity building seminars, workshops and meetings, aimed at

creating awareness among parliamentarians, small-scale farmers, small-scale traders, artisanal fisher folk and other stakeholders about the multilateral system of trade and its implications to them and the country. The programs should provide information about the alternative to the neoliberal economic and trade policies. They should also discuss the tactics and strategies of struggling against the imperialist trading system while providing information about the global movements against imperialist globalization and for the alternative globalization based on human solidarity, social justice and socialism.

9.3. Networking and Organization

The NGOs and CSOs in 8.6.2. in this report should identify and document all organizations dealing with issues of trade in the country with the view of creating a united front of forcing the Kenyan Government to involve Kenyans in discussing bilateral and multilateral agreements before signing them. This will also help the Government to deal with the external pressures. The struggle against the imperialist multilateral system of trade should be connected with the global struggle against imperialism and for socialism.

9.4. Advocacy

Progressive NGOs, CSOs (social movements) should intensify their advocacy activities for a just and equitable global trading system and the need for people's participation in deciding about the country's commitment to global bilateral and multilateral trade policies and agreements. Clear alternative policies should always remain an embodiment of the advocacy strategies. The relevant Parliamentary Committees should remain major targets of the advocacy activities. As most of the Clerks who advise the Committees are hardly aware of the

functioning of the neoliberal multilateral system of trade, relevant seminars should be organized for them.

9.5. Lobbying

Progressive NGOs and CSOs such as SEATIN Kenya should lobby for alternative policies for Kenya away from neoliberal globalization. It should also organize other stakeholders dealing with issues of trade and the imperialist multilateral system to discuss about strategies and tactics of lobbying the Government including Parliament[1]; CSOs and NGOs and other key stakeholders about the need for people's participation in deciding about major bilateral and multilateral trade and economic agreements. Lobbying should also be aimed at forcing the Government to reject implementing imperialist economic policies and adopting alternative ones rooted from among the people.

9.6. Knowledge and literature

Progressive NGOs and CSOs such as SEATIN Kenya should always be aware of their key role of generating and disseminating knowledge on trade and related issues in the era of neoliberal globalization. As Fidel Castro often emphasizes, this is also the era of intensification of the battle of ideas between the reactionary forces of capitalism and the progressive forces of socialism. In this regard, it should also always be remembered that without revolutionary ideas there cannot be a revolutionary movement. At the same time revolutionary ideas become a revolutionary force once they reach the masses. That is why we must ensure that the knowledge that is generated does not remain in printed materials for intellectuals and elites of sorts but that it

[1] Given the importance of Parliament, I provide detailed example about how to lobby it about trade matters in section 9 of this report.

actually reaches the masses at the grassroots in their own languages.

Knowledge about the working of the neoliberal multilateral system of trade and its effects particularly to Kenya, could also be disseminated through the growing popularity of radios (especially FMs), TVs and the internet. FMs radio station enjoy popular hearing among the ordinary people in urban and rural areas and could be a means not only of disseminating the knowledge but also soliciting the views, wishes and aspirations of the popular masses about trade and economic matters and the battle against capitalism and imperialism.

Information Technology (IT) in Kenya faces many challenges. Many areas in the country, particularly rural ones, have no access to electricity and therefore the IT services. Class and geographical differentiations and the prevalence of poverty and illiteracy in the country means that IT remains the domain of the elites and educated young persons, mostly in urban areas. Nevertheless, IT is growing very rapidly in the country and is a very popular mode of communication. Anti-imperialist activists as individuals and organizations should therefore enhance their activities by utilizing IT for the struggle of just trade.

9.7. Targeting religious organization

Religious organizations led by genuine religious leaders also play a very important role in Kenyan society. Although belated, still they played a significant role in the struggle against the Moi-KANU dictatorship that culminated in multiparty democracy in 1992. Since then religious organizations have continued to play significant role in calling for greater democracy, human rights, peace, justice, transparency, accountability and good governance. They have also been involved in the call for debt relief. For these reasons, it is important to target religious leaders

and organization in the advocacy and lobbying work about involving the Kenyan people to participate in the struggle for fair trade. Information about the working of the neoliberal multilateral system of trade and its negative impacts to the development of the country and the alternatives to the system should be disseminated to religious organizations through seminars and other methods. Religious leaders enjoy huge influence in the country as Kenyan society is still very religious. Appeal to them on moral grounds about the need for a just world order and globalization based on humane values of friendship, solidarity and the desire to do good to the world, will find fertile ground. Religious organizations could also, in turn, add pressure to the Government to find strength in struggling imperialist's trade and economic reforms imposed upon the country.

9.8. Direct citizen actions

In a democracy, citizens have a right and duty to use all lawful and peaceful means possible to air their views and demand solutions from authorities. In fact, democratic freedoms including the right to peaceful demonstrations and picketing are entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya. Efforts should therefore be made by progressive NGOs and CSOs to educate the masses on this right and about various methods of mass actions for a just economic system that include demonstrations, petitions, boycotts and demanding accountability from their elected representatives. In so doing, emphasis should also be put in increasing awareness about mass struggles in other places of the world and the global movement against neoliberal globalization.

OF IMMIGRATION, NEOLIBERAL GLOBALISATION, MTUMBAISM & THE STRUGGLE FOR A JUST, PEACEFUL AND PROGRESSIVE WORLD ORDER

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK

The following essay was written several years ago when Mwandawiro Mghanga was a postgraduate student at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Ultuna, Sweden. He reproduced it in 2015 and he has reproduced it again today in the context of the ongoing discussion and concern about the cases of growing xenophobia in the world and especially recently in South Africa.

15 September 2020

Part I. Neoliberal Globalisation, Immigration and Immigrants - The Reality and Consequence of Growing Poverty amidst Plenty

An example of the life and struggles of immigrants in the West

A few years ago, I conducted a one-week research under the title, The Life of Immigrants in Gottsunda for the course of Research Methods at Department of Rural Development Studies, at the Swedish University of Agriculture (SLU) Ultuna. In the process, I made thirteen interviews that involved sixty persons, men and women, young and old of different nationalities that included Swedes, Africans, Iranians, Kurds and people from former Yugoslavia. I chose Gottsunda, Uppsala, as it is not only one of the largest suburbs in the fourth largest city in Sweden, but is also the place with the highest concentration of immigrants in Uppsala. In fact, immigrants form the vast majority of the residences of Gottsunda.

During the interviews, I learned that unemployment is one of the greatest problems among the immigrants in Gottsunda. I was informed that many people in Gottsunda were either unemployed or under-employed. Many of those I interviewed said that they wished to work but could not find jobs even when information from the press, internet and the labour offices often announced increasing job opportunities. Many said that when immigrants do find jobs then they are usually low paying ones such as cleaning, washing dishes or assisting disabled or aged persons; opportunities not commensurate with their skills or education.

They further claimed that compared to immigrants, Swedes are more advantaged in all ways as far as employment is concerned. Many also believed that lack of knowledge of Swedish is often used as an excuse to deny immigrants job opportunities as many of them speak adequate Swedish for the jobs they apply for if not perfect Swedish. As a consequence of all this, the immigrants are either forced to continue studying and learning skills that they do not use all the time or are resigned to doing jobs that they don't like or that are below their potential simply so that they can survive. Others are forced to undergo the 'humiliation' as they put it, of depending on social security. Unemployment contributes to low incomes and a life of poverty and struggle for survival among the immigrants who are forced to resort to various coping strategies to deal with the problem. Most of those I interviewed also said that the main reason they reside in Gottsunda is that it was the only place in Uppsala they could find an apartment easily. In other words, it was not their wish or decision to live in Gottsunda, although many also said it is a beautiful place with all the necessary services available. They even said that many Swedes are moving away from Gottsunda which is becoming an exclusive immigrant suburb. As a result,

the children of immigrants attend schools where the majority of the pupils are immigrants and hardly get the chance of mixing and integrating with Swedish children and helping to improve their Swedish. This is likely to lead to disadvantages in acquiring education and skills and therefore careers, a process that leads to the same fate experienced by their parents.

I was also informed that the immigrants in Gottsunda resort to various strategies of coping with the situation of unemployment. These include:

- Working to 'survive'. This means accepting to do any work available irrespective of the level of education, job experience or carrier choice;
- Making sure they live on the cheapest food possible, second-hand clothes and other consumer goods;
- Establishing social networks: people visit one another, make parties in their houses, lend each other money and provide one another with solidarity in times of need. This is the alternative to socialising in restaurants—a lifestyle their low incomes cannot allow;
- Studying: rather than giving in to under-employment or unpaid jobs (praktik) or the 'humiliation' of depending on social welfare, many immigrants opt to study even when they don't need the studies. Often the courses they take do not lead them to employment and are not recognised by institutions of education or employers;
- 'Black jobs': others do black jobs/businesses to add to their incomes even when they are exploited in the process, or even as they know that they are committing crime by so doing;

As an immigrant myself who had lived in Sweden, and in Uppsala for that matter, since 1991, I naturally sympathised and

appreciated what I heard during the short research. As a matter of fact, I identified with many of the sentiments raised by those I interviewed. The participants of the research could have been describing my own experience, that of my wife, friends and neighbours. They could have been talking about the frustrations and plight of academic professionals of all sorts with immigrant backgrounds. They could be talking about the conditions of immigrants not only in Sweden but in the West in general. For it is common knowledge that immigrants are the most marginalised communities in the West, they are the poorest of the poor. This notwithstanding the lucky few who occasionally manage to climb their way to the top.

But it is a known fact that people emigrate to the West in search of better and prosperous lives.

"So if the life of most immigrants is as that described by the immigrants in Gottsunda, why continue to emigrate to and stay in Europe? Why don't the immigrants simply pack and go back to their countries of origin? After all, isn't the life of the immigrants from Third World countries in the West is many times better than that they would ever dream of in their countries of origin? In Europe they can at least expect social security while most of them will be threatened with hunger or even starvation in their countries of origin, not to mention gross violations of their human rights! What right have they (the immigrants), therefore, to complain?" This is the response of extreme rightist migration policies that breed racism and xenophobia and that are, unfortunately, growing all over Europe and the West.

Xenophobia is also rearing its ugly head in Africa. In South Africa, Black South Africans have repeatedly organised violence against other Black Africans from the other countries of the continent who they blame for escalating the economic and social

problems ravaging their country that include poverty, unemployment and inequality. In Kenya too when the state fails to solve the problem of the growing insecurity, especially terrorism, they blame it on refugees from Somalia and threaten to repatriate them to 'their country' while building a 'Chinese wall' between Kenya and Somalia to prevent Somalis from entering the country. All this is happening when African leaders at the African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa are talking all the time about the need of regional integration. After the overthrow and murder of the great Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, and the consequent destruction of the Libyan state and nation, xenophobia against Africans South of the Sahara has escalated in that country.

The purpose of this essay is to refute the easy questions and simplistic answers based on racism and xenophobia by arguing that the problem of immigrants and immigration is complex and is a manifestation of globalisation, particularly neoliberal globalisation. My contention is that the solution to the myriad problems related to immigration and immigrants is not closing borders or building walls against immigrants who include refugees, or discriminating against them and ignoring their plight or only pretending to be dealing with their problems.

Rather the solution lies in addressing and dealing with the root causes that force millions of people from all over the world, but mainly from the Third World, to move away from their countries of origin to seek a life elsewhere against their will. The solution is in opposing global capitalism that is escalating the exploitation and oppression of the poor and working classes in the developed countries.

I will also argue that the problems caused by immigration and immigrants to nation-states is a reminder that no country can be

free from the adverse effects of neoliberal globalisation, which is the socio-economic system in the world today that is responsible for increasing poverty and underdevelopment of the majority of countries and peoples of the world. Furthermore, I hope to put across the message that the problem of immigration and immigrants is global and needs global solutions from the perspectives of those being marginalised by globalisation and those struggling for a just, progressive, humane and sustainable world order. Neoliberal globalisation is planting the seeds of racism, xenophobia and antagonism between immigrants on the one hand and the increasing poor and marginalised indigenous citizens of developed countries on the other one.

As the process of neoliberal globalisation continues to unfold, with its impacts felt throughout the world, immigration—people moving from their countries of origin to go to start life in other countries or away from their homes—has increased. Global capitalism has become a reality even in the remotest parts of the world, but also the reality that is uprooting millions of people from their nations, cultures, and livelihoods and triggering the problem of immigration and immigrants which is now a crisis.

But the major concern or problem is with the escalation of immigration from the South to the North, from the underdeveloped nations to the developed nations, from the poor to the rich countries. The countries of the South hardly feel threatened by immigrants from the North. In any case, in the 21st Century, compared to the immigration from the South to the North, there is hardly any significant immigration to the South. Again, immigrants from the North are welcomed in the South as they are likely to bring the much-needed resources in the form of direct foreign investments, 'aid' or through tourism. Discrimination against immigrants from the North in the South

is hardly heard of. On the contrary, it is the people of the South that are discriminated against by immigrants from the North in their own countries. For the poor are downtrodden at home and abroad.

But mass immigration, caused by poverty and underdevelopment, to the rich and prosperous countries promising better opportunities, is not new in history. Millions of Irish people immigrated to the US following the hunger, poverty and sufferings caused by, among other things, the failure of potato harvest as a result of potato blight in the 19th Century. At the same time, millions of Swedes immigrated to the US to escape the life of poverty and oppression from feudalism in search of a better life. Millions of Europeans emigrated to USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to escape poverty, prison and all types of persecutions, and in search of means to make sustainable livelihoods. During colonialism, Africa became the homeland of millions of European settlers, the majority of whom could not hope to ever own land, property or become wealthy in their countries of origin. Is it unexpected, therefore, that today millions of people are emigrating to the industrialised countries to escape the hardships caused by the collapse or malfunctioning economies in most of the Third World countries that, besides, is attributed to the unjust unipolar world order? In any case, people have always emigrated from where there are less prospects for a better life to where there are more prospects for a better life. That is why the immigration of people from rural areas to urban areas is not only inevitable but unstoppable.

The developed, industrialised, High-Income Countries (HICs) are building legal, physical and all types of barriers to prevent immigrants from Africa, Latin America, Asia, Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union from

entering their countries. Yet emigration from the poor to the rich countries seems to be unstoppable. Immigrants are prepared to take all types of risks and to endure all forms of hardships and humiliations to enter and live in the rich and prosperous countries. Thousands of people die every year in the process of migrating to the rich countries while criminal organisations are making huge wealth in cross boundary human trafficking or the smuggling of immigrants into the European Union, North America and Australia.

In the Western countries where they migrate to and have become a reality, the immigrants are the most marginalised groups and the poor of the poor. In South Africa, however, immigrants from other countries of Africa are seen by the poor indigenous South Africans to be better off than them (Black South Africans who were exploited, oppressed and marginalised by the apartheid system for centuries and who are still exploited, oppressed and marginalised by the capitalist system now under the government dominated by the Black elites. This is in fact the basis of the growing xenophobia in the country.)

Many cities and towns in the West are being characterised by exclusive suburbs for immigrants that are avoided by the citizens of the host nations. Within these suburbs there are divisions based on the nationality, race and religion of the immigrants. Tensions and violence based on these divisions are common. But what is worse is that the governments and states of the host nations hardly put efforts of helping in integrating immigrants to the society that they have become part and parcel of.

Increasingly, immigrants are causing fear, despondency and uncertainty from the poor and marginalised citizens of the HICs who have to compete for employment and other meagre resources available to them with the immigrants. This leads to

racial and ethnic tensions and even violence that is increasing in Europe and in the world today. All these conditions form fertile soil for the seeds of neo-nazism and extreme rightist politics that are in the ascendance in Europe and North America. Reactionary and racist politicians are consolidating and increasing their political hegemony by preaching to their desperate fellow citizens that the root causes of the economic, cultural and social problems (including unemployment, terrorism and crimes of all sorts) in their countries are migrants from Africa, Asia and Latin America, poor European countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet countries. The rightist politics and politicians, of course, ignore the role played by immigrants in the economic and cultural development of their countries. They also refuse to acknowledge the need for immigrant labour given the fact of the ageing population of Europe and the industrialised countries. Neither do they see the fact that it is neoliberal economic and social policies that are responsible for the growth of poverty and unemployment among the majority of the citizens in the developed countries.

The flexibility and global nature of present-day capitalism allows capitalists to shift their industries and capital from their home countries to other countries where tax, labour and environmental policies allow them to make much more profits. This does not only cost hundreds of thousands of jobs in the industrialised countries of the North, but also leads to cuts on government expenditure on key social services that the working class desperately needs.

As a matter of fact, the social welfare system in Europe—including in the Scandinavian countries is being eroded rapidly by the neoliberal leaders and policies at the expense of the majority of citizens. Poverty among the majority of citizens has

increased. When I was in Sweden from December 2014 to April 2015, I was shocked to see beggars outside all the supermarkets and railway stations I visited—something which I did not see when I was in the country in 2013! As the implementation of neoliberalism continues with privatisation of even essential services such as housing, water, transport and health the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing as also is the hostility to immigrants by the indigenous populations.

In short, immigration and immigrants is a real and complex problem today as shown by the escalating crisis of hundreds of thousands of immigrants dying in the Sahara Desert and Mediterranean Sea while desperately trying to cross to Europe from Africa and Asia. The recent xenophobia in South Africa in which indigenous South Africans have lynched fellow Africans who have immigrated to South Africa blaming them for the social and economic problems they are forced to live with is also a manifestation of the global problem of immigration. The Kenyan government is building a 'Chinese Wall' between the country and its neighbouring Somalia that it blames for the origin of terrorism that often causes deaths and destruction. At the same time, asylum seekers from Somalia who have been forced to flee to Kenya for fear of the Al-Shabaab terrorists are in turn also terrorised by the Kenyan government by being threatened to be repatriated back to the country that they ran away from to avoid the deaths, torture and persecution. Yet whether we like it or not nations cannot plan their economies without taking into account the reality of immigrants. Neo-Nazism is rearing its ugly head throughout Europe by exploiting social and economic problems being created by neoliberal globalisation. Immigrants become easy scape-goats for what is in fact the negative impacts of contemporary capitalism and imperialism in the world today.

These were conditions that brought Hitler to power in Germany and gave birth to fascism. Remember, if we do not learn from history, we are doomed to repeat it. What, therefore, is neo-liberal globalisation?

Neoliberal Globalisation and Increased Marginalisation of the Poor Nations and Peoples of the World

The fall of the Soviet Union and the communist states of Eastern Europe that brought about the end of the classical Cold War, is one of the greatest events that ended the last two decades of the 20th Century. The effects of the fall of the Soviet Union are being felt not only in the former communist countries but also all over the world. The fall of the former Soviet Union was accompanied by the acceleration of the process of neoliberal globalisation. The globalisation of economic, political, social and cultural life that many agree is a continuous process dominates contemporary current affairs. Yet globalisation which is in fact dominated by global capitalism in theory and practice, is utilising the scientific and technological revolution in the world to turn the whole world into a market place controlled by few multinational and transnational corporations. Global capitalism is dynamic in producing new technologies, economic growth and enormous wealth that is appropriated by few individuals or families. It transcends nation-state boundaries and seeks to remove from its way any regulations and morals, be they labour standards, taxation policies, environmental requirements, national laws, etc., that prevent it from ripping and dominating the world (The Bretton Woods institutions, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation provide global capitalism with the institutional framework to facilitate its operation and expansion).

The growing inequality in economic growth rates, accompanied by the widening gap between the rich and the poor, is producing dangerous political and social problems in many countries and societies. As the masses of the poor see their chances of escaping acute poverty diminish, they are becoming increasingly resentful of those whose growing wealth is evident. This resentment is especially pronounced in the impoverished shantytowns that surround many of the seemingly prosperous towns in the low-income countries. In the hostile, inhospitable and inhuman environments that characterise slums, large numbers of people, especially among the growing legions of unemployed youth, are being attracted into extremist political and religious movements that promise a better life to the majority poor. All sorts of violence, crime, prostitution and violation of human rights by states and individuals has increased, especially in urban areas. Street gangs, drug trafficking syndicates and mafia type organised crimes are dominating societies and unleashing terror and insecurity. Religious inspired terrorism has found fertile ground under these circumstances.

Deep class divisions are also emerging or escalating in China and the post-communist states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states. Following the introduction of market liberalisation reforms in these countries, the gap between the rich and the poor has become considerably worse, while newly formed capitalist class (including the Mafia) has accumulated enormous wealth that they display in highly conspicuous manner. Unemployment, poverty, disease, crime, violence and lack of access to necessary social services is an embodiment of the restoration of capitalism in these countries.

Another consequence of neoliberal globalisation is the growing income differentiation based on inter-group relations in

multi-ethnic societies. In most societies, the divide between the rich and the poor is not the only schism that matters: of far greater significance are the divisions between various strata of the poor and the lower middle class. When such divisions coincide with ethnic or religious differences, and when one group of poor people find itself mainly making less economic progress than a similar group of different ethnic composition, the result is likely to be increased ethnic antagonism (so called tribalism and xenophobia), and at the extreme, increased inter-group violence or even war. The brutal civil wars triggered by tribalism that happened Liberia, Sierra Leone, Algeria, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Philippines, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Peru, Colombia, Rwanda, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Sudan, South Sudan and to a lesser degree Kenya that together caused enormous deaths and destruction while producing millions of refugees and immigrants, are examples.

Immigration caused by war and political persecution is well known and appreciated. It is immigration caused by the adverse effects of neoliberal globalisation that has hardly received attention. It is this neo-liberal globalisation that is creating economic immigrants that are growing in their millions are regarded as threats to the civilizations of the developed countries. Political, legal and physical walls are constructed daily by developed countries to lock out immigrants from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Yet should, for example, China or India disintegrate and degenerate into civil war, as it happened in the former Yugoslavia, due to neoliberal globalisation, no country in the world—least of all Europe, North America and Japan—will escape the catastrophic effects that will be caused by hundreds of millions of refugees and immigrants that every country will have to deal with. The immigration crisis happening in the

Mediterranean Sea between Africa and Europe is but a warning that worse is yet to come should neoliberalism continue to dominate the world. But the masses of the world have a right and duty to make capitalists and imperialists pay for their crimes against humanity, even if this means migrating to the doorsteps and homes of capitalism and imperialism to sharpen the class contradictions there.

Part II. *Mtumbaism*, How the Process of Neoliberal Globalisation is Turning Kenya into a Second-Hand Nation

Introduction

Mtumba is a Kiswahili word that was originally used to refer to second hand clothes. This is because the first second hand commodities that were sold at a large scale were clothes. Now that today second-hand commodities have become the norm rather than the exception in East Africa, *mtumba* refers to all second-hand items, clothes, shoes, utensils, vehicles, machines, food, etc. In this essay, I also take the liberty to refer to as *mtumba* all foreign ideas or ideologies that are aimed at preventing progressive change and that serve to maintain the political, economic and cultural order of poverty, dependency and underdevelopment in Africa. In Kenya, like in many parts of Africa, the importation, buying, selling and consumption of all sorts of second-hand items has become a culture. It is this culture and process of dependence on second hand foreign goods, values and ideas that I call *mtumbaism*. *Mtumbaism* is a consequence of the implementation of neoliberalism economic policies in the African continent and contributes directly and directly to the phenomena of immigration.

In this essay, I will analyse the impact of *mtumbaism* to the economy, culture and psychology of Kenya and Kenyans from the perspective of globalisation. This will be based on my own

experiences, observations and reflections as a Kenyan in Kenya and in Europe. I will attempt to demonstrate that neoliberal globalisation is contributing to the underdevelopment of Kenya and compromising its national freedom and sovereignty. Increasingly, many Kenyans both professional and ordinary people, are immigrating to Southern Africa, Europe and the USA hoping to find opportunities of earning better living. The brain drain from Kenya to the more prosperous or promising countries is inherent in the process of immigration and neoliberalism while it also contributes to vicious circle of underdevelopment. What is true of Kenya is also generally true of most of Africa, Asia and Latin America, subject to the specific conditions of each country.

The Reality of the Phenomena of *Mtumbaism* in Kenya

The Trade in Second-Hand Clothes

Kenyan markets, whether in the rural or urban areas, are today full of all sorts of *mtumba*, second hand commodities, most of which are imported from Western Europe, USA, Canada and Japan. In the 1960s, there were hardly any *mtumba* in the Kenyan markets. Back then, the second-hand clothes were referred to as *Marehemu George*, meaning the clothes of dead people personified by the dead King of England, George VI. This was in order to discourage people from wearing them. It was only desperate people who had to wear clothes left behind by the dead. One, therefore, had to be extremely poor in order to wear *mtumba*. In those days, the material circumstances allowed Kenyans to hold on to their pride. The economies of African countries were performing well and causing positive development. This was more so in Kenya where the people were enjoying one of the highest standards of living in the continent. Emigration due to poverty or unemployment was hardly known. The vast majority of Kenyans who went to study abroad would

rush back to Kenya as soon as they finished their studies. As for ordinary Kenyans, the idea of immigrating in search of a living did not exist. Not so nowadays!

Today the trade in *mtumba* has grown to be one of the largest informal economies in the country. One of the biggest import commodities of the country is *mtumba*. The largest markets in Kenyan urban and rural areas deal with second hand clothes and other *mtumba* items. Thousands of people earn their living through buying and selling *mtumba*. The majority of Kenyans now wear second hand clothes. While in the beginning one considered it a shame to wear second hand clothes and if s/he had to s/he would not reveal the fact, nowadays second-hand clothes have been accepted as part and parcel of life and are sold and used openly and without shame.

The harsh living conditions brought about by the deteriorating economy, that as in most Sub-Saharan Africa began in the mid-1970s are eroding the pride of Kenyans. This includes using all means possible and enduring all types of risks and degrading conditions to immigrate to foreign countries and do the kind of jobs they would not accept to do in their country of birth.

Today the majority of Kenyans are so poor that they cannot afford to buy new clothes. As poverty escalates and the neoliberal economic policies cut more and more jobs through retrenchment brought as the 'rationalisation' of the civil service, privatisation of state enterprises and the closure of local industries that unable to compete with foreign industries, the number of those who rely on *mtumba* is increasing rapidly. Second hand clothes are seen and even accepted as the solution in a situation where millions would practically go naked without them. The problem is that while *mtumba* may alleviate the immediate problem it is certainly not the long term and sustainable solution to poverty. It is in fact

part and parcel of the problem that constrains the development of local industry, trade and agriculture. Its implication to the cultures and humanity of Kenyans and the future of the country is horrendous, to say the least.

Other *Mtumba* Commodities

In the beginning, *mtumba* was only about clothes. However, today, the majority of Kenyans buy and use all sorts of *mtumba* commodities: shoes, socks, inner-wear, blankets, bed-sheets, curtains, utensils, etc. Many vehicles and most cars on Kenyan roads are *mtumbas* imported mostly from Japan and also from Europe, the majority of which enter the country via Dubai and are therefore also called dubais The cars also use second hand tires and other second-hand spare-parts imported from Europe and Japan. All sorts of food-stuff, milk, eggs, sugar, meat, fruits, a lot of which is considered as *mtumba* in their countries of origin, are sold in the Kenyan supermarkets and open markets. Food that today in the West is regarded as junk food and therefore unhealthy has of late appeared in the Kenyan markets and is becoming more and more popular among the middle class, thanks to economic liberalisation. Here I refer to the food sold by multi-national corporations such as Mcdonald's that are increasingly being criticised for their unhealthy foods. One of the impacts of globalisation and trade liberalisation is the coming of Nandos, a South African food company equivalent to Mcdonald's. Fast-food restaurants have increased in the food markets in Kenyan towns where they sell frozen chicken, meat, and hamburgers, some imported from outside the country. This is having a negative effect on the eating habits of Kenyans as fresh and health foods are becoming more and more expensive. Tobacco multinational corporations that are prohibited from advertising in the Western countries advertise freely in Kenya and encourage

the youth to the dreadful smoking habit. Unilever and Nestle, for example, the multi-nationals that have a giant share in the food and beverage industry in Kenya, have committed themselves to reject "genetically modified ingredients for their European products." It should be noted that the commitment of the corporations is to European markets and not Kenyan ones. So even in a situation where the question of the impact of transgenic organisms and food to health, safety and the environment has not been resolved, the corporations regard Kenyans as *mtumba* citizens of the world and can therefore afford to gamble with their lives with impunity.

Kenyans Are Consuming *Mtumba* Ideas and Culture

Mtumbaism is not about material goods alone. It is also about education, ideas, culture. In the era of great scientific and technological revolutions in the world, particularly information technology, Kenyans import *mtumba* knowledge from the West through the print media, radio, television, the internet and other electronic media. To make it worse, this is happening when knowledge is increasingly being privatised and commercialised in the name of Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs), and in the process underdeveloped countries like Kenya are marginalised in relation to scientific research and information (The Crucible II Group, 2000).

Yet, today, in the era of globalisation knowledge is deemed to be the most important factor of determining the development of a nation (ibid., 2000:4). Books that are no longer needed in schools in Europe, USA, Canada, Japan etc. are either sold or donated for use in schools, colleges, universities and other educational institutions in countries that are too poor to afford up to date ones. Kenyan scientists and researchers in Kenyan institutions of research and higher learning use second hand

equipment bought from the northern countries or donated to them. In the age where computers are invaluable in the search for knowledge, there are hardly any computers available to universities and institutes of research and higher education in the country, leave alone schools. The scarce resources available disappear through corruption or are squandered through importation of luxurious cars and other goods for the Kenyan elites. The professors and lecturers in the institutions of higher learning are either too busy dealing with classes that are too large, or are too engaged in other money minting activities to find time to renew and develop their knowledge through research.

In the process of direct and indirect privatisation of universities, the university administrators are more concerned in making money for the universities (and for themselves of course) than in the production of good knowledge to the students and the country. As a consequence, education standards have gone down alarmingly. Thugs who find fertile ground in the corrupt institutions impose themselves upon other students (transformed into zombies) to be student leaders with the connivance of university administrators. Academic freedom that is seen as a threat to the stability of the institutions by the corrupt and reactionary professors that administer them is not tolerated in the universities that are governed through imposition of the culture of fear, threats, intimidation and silence. Ironically, there is more democracy in Kenyan society in general than inside the educational institutions that continue to expel students arbitrarily and to prevent robust intellectual discourse. This process produces *mtumba* graduates who enter the cycle of *mtumbaism* going on in the country which is also reflected in the Kenyan leaders today. The exiting *mtumba* education teaches students and pupils values of individualism, greed, selfishness, corruption

and worship of money rather than those of creativity, hard work, honesty, modesty, patriotism and commitment to the common good and humanity. They are not encouraged to search and struggle for truth, social justice and a better Kenya and world.

The Kenyan mass media depend on foreign news agencies such as Reuters, Associated Press, AFP, etc. for the global news they print and broadcast to Kenyans. The majority of the Kenyan journalists, whether from the print or electronic media, write and broadcast bourgeois platitudes on democracy, human rights, governance, gender, etc., that only strengthen capitalism and imperialism in the country. The mass media that is mostly owned by foreign and local capitalists, exists to make money and to defend the status quo of neoliberalism. Their content is riddled with lies and permeated with corruption and gives voice only to those in power, with money and defenders of bourgeoisie ethics and platitudes that are repeated daily and weekly. They have no space for those who challenge the status quo of the capitalist and imperialist system established in the country. Besides, American and British films, many of which are outdated, dominate Kenyan national television and the videos seen in private homes. And while this is happening local films made by local artists are rejected, ignored and hardly popularised. Second hand commercial advertisements are preferred to local made ones to the detriment of local advertising companies. *Mtumbaism* and neoliberalism fights against the growth of local art and artists.

Under *mtumbaism* and neoliberal globalisation the importation and consumption of pornography has increased. Gender and feminist activists led by the petit-bourgeois women and men, the majority of whom are in NGOs sponsored by Western countries do not find it necessary to struggle against pornography in the country. Pornography is extremely

humiliating and dehumanising, especially to women, as much as it is allowed by bourgeois freedoms. At the same time, anti-social habits that are regarded as anathema by the cultures of Kenyans are today being imposed as agendas for discussion by donor nations through the media and some local NGOs. Instead of, for example, struggling to change the material conditions that force people, especially women, into prostitution, some people especially in NGOs, are now making money by making seminars to organise prostitutes whom they call 'sexual workers' to form trade unions and thus legalising sex as a commodity. Yet prostitution is one of the worst manifestations of the degradation and exploitation of the poor, especially women.

NGOs, that are supported by the imperialist's aid in all ways and that are presented as an alternative to the state, are strongholds of bourgeois ideas and values in the country. Many are led by extremely greedy 'professional' beggars and con men and women who are experts of writing proposals for 'aid' money, rubbing shoulders with foreign diplomats or donors, organising seminars and workshops in urban areas and publishing books, mostly in English, that remain in their luxurious offices. Corruption, tribalism, nepotism, cronyism, lack of transparency and accountability, intrigues, etc., are characteristics of the majority of Kenyan NGOs. The foreign donor organisations that in many cases are led by people who are just as greedy and corrupt, know this, but as long as the local NGOs continue to embrace neoliberalism in theory and in practise, they will continue to receive funding from them.

Thus in the process of *mtumbaism*, like most of other African peoples under the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed upon the nation by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) through the government,

Kenyans are made to depend on the Western definitions of democracy. They are taught that bourgeois democracy is not only the Alpha and Omega of democracy but also that it is above classes, states and nations. Today terms such as 'human rights', 'good governance', 'transparency', 'accountability', 'gender', 'peoples participation', 'grassroots', etc., have become platitudes that are only paid lip service by the governments and non-governmental organisations who parrot them. For as long as they remain devoid of history and class analysis, as long as they are not integrated in the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle, they will remain as hollow and elusive as bourgeois' democracy itself.

Neoliberalism, assisted by the Kenyan state, pro-capitalist NGOs, electronic and print mass media and bourgeois intellectuals and politicians of all sorts, strives to make Kenyans believe that there is no alternative to the capitalist system and the neoliberal imperialist world order. In this way, foreigners and their stooges in power in our country shape the everyday worldview of Kenyans. So it happens that Africans are made to view and measure their cultures from standards set by outsiders who advocate for the globalisation of bourgeoisie values—*mtumbaism*.

Mtumbaism Is a Manifestation of the Effects of Neoliberal Globalisation

Mtumbaism is yet another testimony about how neoliberal globalisation has made a large section of human beings into second hand citizens of the world. It is about the inequality between the North and the South, the rich and the poor, in the era of globalisation based on capitalist ideology and praxis, and about how this relationship impacts on the livelihoods, economies, cultures and psychology of the people of both

countries. It is about the struggle for survival of the people whom Fanon (1967) has called the "wretched of the earth", people who today have to depend on things and ideas produced and disposed of by other people. In the face of economic globalisation that worships the power of money and the 'wisdom' of market forces, the creative potential and humanity of billions of marginalised people is being squeezed out.

Within the rich countries, it is the poor or people from the working class and immigrants who are reduced to the depending on *mtumba* material goods. *Mtumbaism* has therefore a class character both at the national and international level, with the poor and marginalised people being reduced to consuming things used and not needed by other people. Consumerism is a characteristic of capitalism. In a system based on competition, exploitation of person by person and the worship of material things rather than human values, there is the culture of buying, accumulating and disposing of things even when they are still useful. For example, one would buy a shirt or a blazer and use it for one week and throw it away to buy a new one. There are second hand commercial and charity shops where people can dispose of their *mtumba* "to help the poor people of Africa and the Third World" and clear their conscience in the process. This is what starts the process of the accumulation and globalisation of *mtumba* as I witnessed it in Sweden. *Mtumba* cannot accumulate from the poor people from both the South and the North who cannot afford to throw away things until they are sure they are no longer useful. That is why in Sweden, for example, the majority of the consumers of *mtumba* are immigrants, mainly from the Third World, who also form the vast majority of the poor and marginalised, or whose cultural roots, values and

obligations cannot allow them to engage in bourgeoisie consumerism even when living in foreign countries.

Mtumbaism and 'Aid'

Mtumbaism has a parallel with the phenomena of foreign aid. Like foreign 'aid', *mtumba* flows from the North to the South, from rich to poor nations and not the other way round. But decades of foreign aid to Kenya have not brought about self-reliance and development. Instead, the country has become poorer and more dependent. That is why many people in Kenya would subscribe with the views expressed by the likes of Yeebo: "What passes off as 'aid' in the third world is nothing but a form of economic control aimed at keeping poor countries on a political leash. It is only when this form of containment does not hold out the advance of progressive forces, as it happened in Grenada under the New Jewel Movement, that direct and crude forms of intervention are used."

When there are calamities such as drought, floods, famine, war, etc., it is normal for those not affected by the calamities to donate things, including second hand items, to the victims. Such charity is humane and is driven by the desire to reduce suffering, to save life and to help fellow human beings in need. Under these circumstances one should not be ashamed to give or accept such aid, even in the form of used things.

However, when one becomes perpetually dependent on things used or not needed by other people—*mtumba*—under all circumstances then certainly there is something wrong. A government that allows its country, economy and people to be dominated by foreign aid or imported *mtumba* cannot be relied upon to lead the country towards liberation and development. Therefore, those philanthropic individuals and charity organisation both in the North and in the South that participate in

the business of flooding poor countries with imported second hand clothes and other items are, whether consciously or unconsciously, helping global imperialism to harm the economies, cultures and humanity of the poor, dominated and exploited people of the world. What they need to do instead—if they intend to contribute to eradication of poverty in Africa and the so called third world—is to provide moral and material support to progressive forces struggling against capitalism and neoliberalism and ultimately for socialism.

Aid Is Not Inherently Bad

It is important to point out at this stage that I am not arguing that aid is inherently bad. Aid plays a positive role when it is given to a country in order to help it start off on the path of development. Such aid based on internationalist solidarity is progressive, genuine, desired and is in fact, an embodiment of the coping strategies of African societies.

For example, among the Wadawida, my ethnic community that live in Taita-Taveta County of Kenya, there existed a traditional system called kuturuyana. This system was a form of aid of helping less successful members of society to move towards success. A person without a cow would be given a cow by his relative, friend or neighbour to look after. The first calf of the cow would belong to the person given the cow. The second calf would go to the original owner of the cow, then the third calf would go to the person given the cow to look after, etc., etc. In the meantime, the one looking for the cow would be using the milk and manure of the cow. This applied to all domestic animals and it ensured that every member of society would own cattle, goats, sheep, chicken, etc. at one time or the other. If we think of the Chinese proverb, this was the type of aid of teaching others to fish rather than giving fish to them all the time.

There was also ngua and ngambi based on the communalist traditional culture of the Wadawida. A person who needed to build a house or till a large piece of land would prepare food (and sometimes also homemade traditional beer) and request his relatives, friends and neighbours to come and help him or her. He would also expect to help others in the same way in return. Other times friends—especially the youth—would organise to work for each other in their parent's farms in turns continuously for a certain period of time. This was called kiko. I consider this to be genuine aid, as it is reciprocal, is based on the principle of equality and solidarity and is devoid of paternalism and is also intended to ensure mutual progress. The popular harambee) movement in Kenya that has been the basis of Kenya's rural development has its roots in the culture of ngua, ngambi and kiko which is also found in many Kenyan and African traditional societies. Unfortunately, the spirit of harambee has been abused by the successive corrupt regimes that have ruled Kenya since independence. Just as imperialism distributes 'aid' and 'loans' to the same nations it exploits and impoverishes, and just as the capitalists and feudalists everywhere use charity and sympathy to the poor to win their love, confidence and trust and to ensure the stability of their reactionary system, in the same way today the ruling classes of Kenya amass their wealth by exploiting the poor and then bribing them (their victims) with a few crumbs of the wealth taken from them in the form harambee donations. This is akin to the trickledown economics of neoliberalism that give false promises to the exploited and oppressed while escalating inequality.

There Was a Time Kenya Was Free from *Mtumbaism*

In order to comprehend the impact of *mtumbaism* and dependency to the Kenyan society today, it is necessary to make

a more detailed historical analysis of culture and development in Kenya. After all, we can learn from history about what to do and what not to do, that is if we do not wish to repeat history. Again, argue, it is impossible to fully comprehend the issues and problematics of development in Africa without appreciating the role of culture in the process of development and the impact imperialism has had and continues to have on African cultures.

Historical analysis of Kenya like that of the rest of Africa based on the writings on African history and socio-economic development show that the culture of *mtumbaism*—dependence on things produced and made by foreigners for our basic needs—was never the culture of our people. The reactionary culture of resigning to fate and losing faith in our own creativity and ability to solve our own problems; this chronic disease of dependency—believing that we can never develop without foreign aid—this was never the culture of our ancestors. It was a culture imposed upon the Kenyan people first by colonialism and then neo-colonialism, and perpetuated by the *mtumba* regime classes controlling economic and state power. Today, in the era of neoliberalism, a new form of capitalist globalisation, this negative culture has taken even stronger roots as evidenced by the phenomena of foreign 'aid' and *mtumbaism*.

Historians explain that thousands of years before Europe invaded our continent, we African people had a rich and dynamic material and intellectual culture. Before colonialism arrived in Kenya our ancestors were not living in caves, under trees or on top of trees. Neither were they sitting and waiting for foreign aid or God to come to provide them with shelter or to teach them how to build houses, toilets, etc. Our people had developed their own housing systems. They were living in well built houses which not only provided sufficient shelter to them commensurate with their

environment and stage of development, but which were also designed and built with the aesthetics that considered and appreciated their concrete material needs, customs, morality and philosophy of life. I actually saw this housing system among my people, the Dawida, when I was growing up between 1960 and 1969, before the land consolidation destroyed the villages. I have described a typical Dawida house in my MA thesis in Literature (Mghanga:1997). The unpublished thesis is available at the Department of Literature of Stockholm University, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, and University of Nairobi Library. Dawida's historical and cultural heritage, philosophy, property and land tenure, food and drink, agriculture and animal husbandry, natural resources use and management, medicine and health, social customs, political and legal systems, material culture, etc., is summarised by various researchers in Were and Soper (1986).

From wood, our people were making different kinds of furniture, utensils, tools, works of art, weapons, etc. They were skilled in pottery, using clay to make many sorts of pots, household objects, which are still used and commended by science.

Thousands of years before the coming of colonialism in Kenya, our people had an agricultural system that was developing. They had managed to tame all sorts of grain, root, stem, fruit and vegetable crops and they were increasing their quantity and quality to meet their food needs. In the same way, they were already breeding different varieties of animals and birds. Bee keeping was common while fishing was part and parcel of the culture of those communities that lived near the sea, lakes and rivers. All this means that our people had agricultural diversity that assured them of variety of foods that provided them

with not only plenty to eat but also with a highly balanced diet, which, besides, was composed of several delicacies.

It is this farming system that has been described by Rodney (1974:40) in the following words:

> *"In the centuries before the contact with Europeans, the overwhelming dominant activity in Africa was agriculture. In all the settled agricultural communities, people observed the peculiarities of their own environment and tried to find techniques for dealing with it in a rational manner. Advanced methods were used in some areas, such as terracing, crop rotation, green manuring, mixed farming and regulated swamp farming. The single most important technological change underlying African agricultural development was the introduction of iron tools, notably the ax and the hoe, replacing wooden and stone tools. It was on the basis of the iron tools that new skills were elaborated in agriculture as well as in other spheres of economic activity… Most African societies raised the cultivation of their own particular staple to fine art. Even the wide spread resort to shifting cultivation with burning and light hoeing was not as childish as the first European colonialists supposed. That simple form of agriculture was based on a correct evaluation of the soil potential, which was not as great as initially appears from the heavy vegetation; and when the colonialists started upsetting the thin topsoil the result was disastrous."*

Thus traditional agricultural systems of the African peoples was organised to meet the food and other needs of the family in particular and the society in general. The culture of farming for the market far from our land to meet the needs of foreigners at the expense of the local requirements, was not the culture of our ancestors. Neither was the culture of malnutrition, hunger and eating the same food day and night all the year round. Even now as I write, I remember, with great nostalgia, the number of our traditional foods which I used to eat during my childhood and that are today disappearing, or have already disappeared, as the

culture of cash crops for foreign markets is imposed upon the Wadawida like all other Kenyan nationalities.

Long before British colonialism invaded Kenya, our ancestors were progressing in the field of science and technology. Science and technology was developing to meet the increasing material and other requirements of the societies. Our people, for example, already were identifying and extracting iron, copper and other metals from their ores. At the same time, they had developed the technology of producing high temperatures that enabled them to smelt the metals and to make copper and iron tools and implements. To hunt and to protect themselves from their enemies, they were developing weapons and perfecting the art of war. In the field of astronomy they were able to study and to provide names to several heavenly bodies. Through this observation they could recognise the changes of the seasons and predict the weather to enable them to plant and harvest the right crops at the right time. My kinsmen and women the Dawida, for example, could predict the weather by observing the behaviour of Kirema (the Dawida name for Mount Kilimanjaro). Thus our people were advancing in physics and chemistry and were creatively using the sciences to add to the quantity and quality of their productive diversity. While our ancestors were using science to make the things they needed, today Kenya's *mtumba* education system produces graduates of physics and chemistry who cannot produce the things produced by our ancestors.

In the field of biology, our ancestors were able to classify many living things into plants and animals. In turn, they were also able, to a large degree, to classify the animals into mammals, birds, insects, fish, reptiles, etc. In the field of botany, they knew and gave names to many different species of plants. They also identified several plants according to their use values. They were

also moving forward in the field of medicine and health. They could identify, classify and treat many types of diseases. They were increasing their abilities to combat many types of viruses that were affecting human beings, their animals and crops. Long before contact with foreigners, the Kenyan people had made their contribution to the global cultural and biological diversity analysed by The Crucible II Group (2000:9-10). By losing our linguistic and cultural diversity through the emphasis on education alienated from the local reality and from production, we are also losing the invaluable indigenous knowledge that ought to be the basis educational development.

In short, as time moved on, our people were increasing their knowledge of the laws of nature and were using them to improve their lives in their specific environments. This also indicates that they were developing their productive forces, they were increasing their material culture both quantitatively and qualitatively. Yes, contrary to what is happening today, we were not static, we were making history, we were moving forward, we were developing and we were doing so depending on mobilising our internal human and natural resources.

In the area of intellectual and social culture, long before colonialism, our people were living in organised societies that were geared to ensure that they lived in peace and harmony. They were governed by definite codes of conduct, morals, philosophies, and customs, values and beliefs. For example, the institution of the elders had the responsibility and the authority of leading the society and ensuring conflict resolutions, observation and conservation of the environment and cultural values, and unity and development of the families and societies. This is, in fact, the basis of the indigenous institutions whose role in development is discussed by Havnevik (2000:38-48).

In the arts, literature, music, dances, theatre, pottery, handicraft, curving, painting, etc., we had made a lot of achievements that survive to this day.

We had our own education system which had the aim of teaching different skills needed by the family and society and to pass the cultural heritage of the society to the younger generation to ensure continuity.

Nyerere (1968:45) describes this education:

> *"The fact that pre-colonial Africa did not have 'schools'—except for short periods of initiation in some tribes—did not mean that children were not educated. They learned by living and doing. In the homes and on the farms they were taught the skills of society, and the behavior expected of its members. They learned the kind of grasses that were suitable for which purpose, the work which had to be done on the crops, or the care which had to be given to animals, by joining with the elders in their work. They learned the tribal history, and the tribe's relationship with other tribes and with the spirits, by listening to the stories of the elders. Through these means, and by the custom of sharing to which young people were to conform, the values of society were transmitted. Education was thus 'informal'; every adult was a teacher to a greater or lesser degree. But this lack of formality does not mean that there was no education, nor did it affect its importance to society. Indeed, it may have made the education more directly relevant to the society in which the child was growing up".*

In the above quotation, Nyerere shows that traditional African education embodied the culture of the societies. It united theory and practice and was aimed at meeting the material and intellectual needs of the people. It was delivered through participatory and interactive methods in which all parents and adults played the role of teachers or facilitators. In this regard, not only was the education democratic by involving everyone in acquiring and sharing knowledge and experience, it was also able to preserve and sustain the cultural heritage of the society through

bringing together the young and old generation in the process. In this way, the formal or school education introduced in Africa by European colonialism, is wasteful and inimical to the culture of the people since, as wa Thiong'o (1979) argues, not only is it alienated from social production, but it also does not involve parents and the community outside the school system in the education process. School teachers become the sole experts and medium of the 'formal education' that implement curricula that ignore or look down upon local or indigenous knowledge (The Crucible II Group, 2000:9-10) that has been developed for thousands of years. Yet in the end it has always turned out that it is the 'formal education' that is irrelevant to the needs of the society for failing to integrate the new and the old, tradition and modernity, science and intuition, theory and practice, the community and the school system.

ON CULTURE AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN KENYA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP

22 January 2014

1.1. Definition

Culture is about human beings. It is about life and society. All human activities and impacts that manifest the presence of people, their works and the changes they make upon nature is culture.

This means that in the process of producing their material needs such as basic requirements food, shelter, clothes; in fashioning tools and creating machines to make work easier, more efficient and more productive in order to improve the quantity and quality of their lives on earth; in the struggle for survival and development, which is in fact the increasing ability to extract a living from nature; human beings are ever in the activities of creating culture.

Education, science and technology, which combine and work together to enable us to produce infrastructures: buildings, roads, industries, agriculture, communication networks, towns and cities, etc.—in short what we call civilisation—is part and parcel of culture.

Then there is that part of culture related but at the same time apart from material culture itself, the spiritual and intellectual aspect, that part of culture that embodies, expresses and manifests human consciousness of nature and society; that which deals with social relations: morals, customs, traditions, beliefs, politics, religion, etc.; that conveys human emotions through live images: art: literature, music, dance, painting, sculpture, etc.; aesthetics, sports etc. etc.

To add on this, as soon as people start working to change nature for themselves, for their welfare; as soon as they begin to comprehend and interpret natural and social phenomenon, people start to create culture, they begin to make history so to speak. At this point, people begin to distinguish themselves from animals, as incidentally, animals do not create culture, for they do not consciously change nature—and the process of consciously changing nature, as we have already observed, is culture.

1.2. All human societies have their culture

In short since culture is about life and society, at all times, culture is a reflection of people's achievements and development over time. It therefore follows that contrary to racist and colonial propaganda, there are no people anywhere in the world who do not possess a culture of their own, and however underdeveloped it may be. For there are no people who are more or less people than others, however exploited, oppressed or marginalised they may be.

Since all human beings have always struggled to increase their knowledge of the laws that govern nature and to use the knowledge thereof to increase their ability to extract a more and better living from nature, it follows that all human beings must have produced a culture of their own, to a lesser or greater degree respectively, depending on the historical and material conditions that exist at a particular place and time.

2. Points to note about culture

2.1. Culture is living

At this point, it is important to note and remember the following points about culture, which will help us to appreciate this particular essay, and thus the meaning of culture: that culture is living: it grows, it develops and changes, it is daily born and reborn just as society itself at all times manifests dialectical

development of growth, development and change. Culture is never static. Thus when the so-called Kenyan leaders parrot about conserving 'our African culture', they clearly do not know what they are talking about. For to talk about conserving or preserving culture is to attempt to stop life all together, obviously an impossible task!

We can only talk about conserving the material and spiritual heritage we inherited from our ancestors, and which we shall also pass to generations to come, in museums, archives, etc. for the sake of study and understanding of our past. Otherwise culture is always dynamic; for it is part and parcel of our daily works and struggles in life. We shall, therefore, shortly try to provide illustrations to elaborate about how culture grows, develops and changes in and from one mode of production to the other, from a simple social-economic system to a higher and a more complex one.

2.2. Culture embodies and expresses social relations

In the second place, culture is an embodiment of a definite mode of production at a definite material and historical time and place. Culture is a reflection of a specific society within a specific mode of production. It expresses the material being and the social relations inherent in a particular mode. The study of culture is therefore also the study of the history of the people of the culture concerned. I shall also attempt to illustrate this fact in this essay using concrete examples from Kenya.

2.3. In a class society culture manifests class struggles

Thirdly, since society is divided into classes in all other modes other than communal or communist (which is yet to come), culture manifests the class divisions at all times. Always, it has been the masses that have been the backbone of producing culture—especially material culture—but in a class society, it is

always the exploiters and oppressors, the members of the ruling class, who eat and enjoy the best and most of the fruits of culture. The oppressors and the oppressed can never enjoy equal rights to culture at the same time and place.

Therefore, the much talked about 'our African culture' or 'our Kenyan culture' when the continent and country is divided into classes, of the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots, the exploiters and the exploited, is nothing but platitudes that conceal the ongoing class struggles. The comprador class of neo-colonial puppets and the local capitalists can never have the same culture as the workers, peasants and the masses of exploited and oppressed.

Yes, we are all Kenyans, we may share the same colour of skin, the same language, the same tribe, the same religion, the same geographical origin, and we may even be blood relations. Yet the poor and the rich do not live in the same places and houses, do not have the same eating habits, do not go to the same schools and hospitals, do not have the same status in society, do not eat the same food, do not have the same values, wishes and aspirations, do not have the same life styles, do not share the same experiences and struggles, etc.

Culture is about life and the lives of the rich Kenyans and the poor Kenyans are clearly very different. In fact, in Kenya and Africa today, culture reflects the class struggles. This is because wherever there are classes culture will also manifest class struggles. We can only come near to the truth about cultures in Kenya when we speak about the cultures of different classes and strata's within Kenyan society which are based on over forty two ethnic groups all of which claim their own cultures.

3. Methodology

In order to comprehend culture and social inequality, therefore, I will consider culture in three historical periods of Kenya, traditional or pre-colonial, colonial and neo-colonial.

4. The Pre-colonial period

Contrary to colonial propaganda, long before our country was invaded by colonialists, we Kenyans were there. We were not called Kenyans and our country was not known as Kenya but that does not mean we were not here as a people living in this very land of ours. We the Swahili, the Mijikenda, the Dawida, the Kamba, the Maasai, the Gikuyu, the Meru, the Luhya, the Kalenjin, the Kisii, the Luo, the Turkana, the Somali, the Orma... we were all here. We were alive, our societies were dynamic, we were making history, we were developing, were daily creating culture.

Most of our nationalities in the interior of what is now known as Kenya, our nation, were at various stages of human history which I refer to here as mature-communalism, if only for simplicity. In the essay I use the term mature communalism to describe the socio-economic relations of traditional Kenyan societies that were at the interior of the country. Nyerere (1974:162-171) defines the same relations as ujamaa or family-hood while Amuta (1989:130) describes them as pre-literate communalism in reference to Ibo society which Achebe describes in his famous novels Things Fall Apart (1967) and Arrow of God (1964). Both societies described by Nyerere, Amuta and Achebe are basically similar to traditional Dawida society. But the social relations of communalism (see Popov-1984:58-62) were of complete equality while those of traditional Dawida society (and those described by Amuta and Nyerere) were beginning to show signs of class divisions, even though the

state had not emerged among them. Economically and culturally, mature communalism was hundreds of years, if not thousands, ahead of primitive communalism in which people had hardly developed tools and were living in caves. The mature-communalism mode of production produced its culture which reflected the level of development of the societies then and the social relations thereof.

4.1. Pre-colonial material culture

Many centuries before the colonialists invaded our country, our people were not without shelters. We were not living in caves, under trees or on top of trees. We were not waiting for foreigners or colonialists or God to come to provide us with shelter or to teach us how to build ourselves houses.

(As a matter of fact, the culture of dependency imposed upon us by imperialism and the ruling classes in Africa today, of sitting and mourning and waiting for foreigners to do things for us; the reactionary culture of losing faith in our creativity and ability to solve our own problems; this chronic disease of believing that we can never develop without foreign aid; this was never the culture of our ancestors.)

Our people had developed their own architecture. They were living in well built houses which not only provided sufficient shelter for themselves commensurate with their environment and stage of development, but which were also designed and built with the aesthetics that considered and appreciated their concrete material needs, customs, morality and philosophy of life. From wood, our people were making different kinds of furniture, utensils, tools, work of art, weapons etc. They were skilled in pottery, using clay to make many sorts of pots, household objects, which are still used and commended by science.

Thousands of years before the coming of colonialism in Kenya, our people had an agricultural system which was developing. They had managed to tame all sorts of grain, root, stem, fruit and vegetable crops and they were increasing their quantity and quality to meet their food needs. In the same way, they were already breeding different varieties of animals and birds. Bee keeping was common while fishing was part and parcel of the culture of those communities that lived near the sea, lakes and rivers. All this means that our people had many types of foods which provided them with plenty to eat and a highly balanced diet, which, besides, was composed of several delicacies.

Incidentally, then agriculture was organised to meet the food and other needs of the family in particular and the society in general. The culture of farming for the market far from our land and to meet the needs of foreigners at the expense of the local requirements was not the culture of our ancestors. Neither was the culture of malnutrition, hunger and eating the same food day and night all the year round. Even now as I write, I remember, with great nostalgia, the number of Dawida foods which are disappearing, or have already disappeared, as the culture of cash crops for foreign markets is imposed upon the Wadawida, like all other Kenyan nationalities.(Dawida is the name of my ethnic group whose geographical location is Taita/Taveta District of the Coast province of Kenya.)

Long before British colonialism invaded Kenya, our ancestors were progressing in the field of science and technology. Science was developing to meet the increasing requirements of the societies. Our people, for example, already were identifying and extracting iron, copper and other metals from their ores. At the same time, they had developed the technology of producing

high temperatures which enabled them to smelt the metals and to make copper and iron tools and implements. Thus our people were advancing in physics and chemistry and were creatively using the sciences to add to the quantity and quality of their production.

In the field of biology, they were able to classify many living things into plants and animals. In turn, they were also able, to large degree, to classify the animals into mammals, birds, insects, fish, reptiles etc. In the field of botany, they knew and gave names to many different species of plants. They also identified several plants according to their use values. They were also moving forward in the field of medicine and health. They could identify, classify and treat many types of diseases. They were increasing their abilities to combat many types of viruses that were affecting human beings, their animals and crops.

In the field of astronomy they were able to study and to provide names to several heavenly bodies. Through this observation they could recognise the changes of the seasons and predict the weather to enable them to plant and harvest the right crop at the right time. To hunt and to protect themselves from their enemies, they were developing weapons and perfecting the art of war.

In short, as time moved on, our people were increasing their knowledge of the laws of nature and were using them to improve their lives in their environment. This also indicates that they were developing their productive forces; they were increasing their material culture both quantitatively and qualitatively. Yes, we were not static, we were making history, we were moving forward, we were developing and we were doing so depending entirely on ourselves.

4.2. Pre-colonial social culture

In the area of social culture, we all know that long before colonialism, our people were living in organised societies which ensured that they lived in peace and harmony. They were governed by definite codes of conduct, morals, philosophies, customs and beliefs based on the mature-communalism mode of production.

The elders had the responsibility and exercised the authority of leading the society and ensuring there was peace and development. Contrary to colonialist propaganda, we were not a primitive and war like people living a chaotic life. We did not need people to come from Europe to rule us and to teach us how to live like civilised beings.

In the arts: literature, music, dances, theatre, pottery, handicraft, curving, painting etc., we had made a lot of achievements which shine widely to this day.

We had our own education system which had the aim of teaching different skills needed by the family and society and to pass the cultural heritage of the society to the younger generation to ensure continuity. The philosophy of education was based on the mature-communalist system which reflected the morality of the communal ownership of the means of production, a social system under which there was no class oppression. The education taught the people to love and cherish the family and blood relations, to help one another and to avoid the evils of arrogance, laziness, individualism, selfishness, cruelty, lack of respect to elders, immorality etc. The education was also conveyed through oral literature and traditional rituals.

The Kenyan peoples, of all nationalities, had their gods and religions long before the missionaries from Europe came to impose their religion upon them. We had developed our own

philosophy which summarised the mature-communalism way of life, morality and social relations. There were psychologists who helped individuals to struggle against different forms of psychological problems. We had a system of making decisions, solving disputes and correcting wrongs in the society which was guided by the mature-communalism morality of the society.

4.3. Critical analysis of the pre-colonial culture

In short, what I am attempting to say is that, long before we were invaded by imperialism, our communities were at the historical stage of human history called mature communalism. They had developed a rich and dynamic culture that was growing, changing and becoming more and more complex every day. We were civilised and we were developing our civilisations before we were rudely interrupted by colonialism.

But please note that this culture was based on the mature-communalism mode and it reflected not only the material conditions of the system but also its contradictions and limitations as well. This is a very important point to remember especially because when many people in Kenya talk about 'our culture', 'Kenyan culture', or 'African culture', while in most cases than not they actually mean traditional Kenyan cultures.

There is also a negative tendency of romanticising our traditional cultures. For the reactionaries, this is done deliberately in order to justify dictatorship, backward ideas, opposition to progressive change and one form of oppression or the other. In doing so they fail to point out that just as there are a lot of positive things in our traditional cultural heritage, there are also negative things inherent in it which we must criticise and discard without any nostalgic sentimentalities.

4.3.1. The morality of communalism

Pre-colonial or mature-communalist culture still had the remnants of the morality of communalism. There was no private property. The basic means of production, land, was owned by society as a whole. Thus land was given by the society to tillers, the family unit, to utilise for them and for the society. It was therefore a classless society which had no basis of class exploitation. The economy was organised in such a way that it met the basic needs of the family in particular and the society in general. It was a developing, integrated and self-sustaining economy. The people depended on their labour, creativity, resources and their collective destiny for their freedom and development. The culture of dependency had not reared its ugly head.

The morality of love and togetherness, mercy to those who needed mercy, solidarity, sharing both joys and sorrows, caring for one another etc. is that part of our cultural heritage which we must struggle to conserve. The same can be said about the culture of strong family and blood relations which Kenyans need very much today. Surely we cannot afford to lose these aspects of our cultural heritage which struggled against social injustice, greed, cruelty, egoism etc.

However, mature-communalism is not communalism at its primitive stage. It is communalism at its mature and last stage of development. In fact, as we have already observed, mature-communalism was thousands of years ahead of primitive communalism. I can even claim, with justification, that mature-communalism was the last stage of communalism. It is a transition stage between communalism and the first class society.

4.3.2. Division of labour

4.3.2.1. Division of labour within the family

The development of productive forces produced division of labour. At the family level, there was division of labour between men and women. It is important however, to point out that division of labour differed from one ethnic group and culture to another although there were general similarities based on gender. Read Ahlberg (1991), for example, about Gikuyu traditional society.[1]

Work in traditional Dawida society,[2] for example, was generally shared according to sex and age. I use the word generally because there were no stringent rules or regulation that governed division of labour within the family or society. Men, usually young men and middle-aged men, generally did clearing of virgin land and rough cultivation requiring intensive hard labour. Cutting big trees and splitting large logs of wood were also the work of men. Boys usually did grazing of livestock that was kept in the kraals around the home. Grazing was done communally as boys from the village would spend the day in the grazing fields together with other boys from the village with their own livestock. The girls would take food to their brothers sometime during the day. While grazing, boys would engage in various games among themselves. Looking after big herds of livestock, kept in the plains or the lower zones of the district that was a long distance from home in Dawida, was the work of men. Often, boys would accompany their fathers, grandfathers or other older relatives to their one week turn (ndisha) of looking after the

[1] Ahlberg, B.M. Women, Sexuality And The Changing Social Order – The Impact of Government Policies On Reproductive Behaviour In Kenya, Gordon and Beach, Philadelphia, 1991.

[2] My ethnic group where I have conducted considerable research.

cattle. It was also the duty of men to hunt while looking after the cattle as in other occasions. Making skin bags (vikuchu), large mortars (vidu) and pestles (misi) for pounding maize and other grain, traditional spoons for making and serving food (miko, chuko, etc.), bowls (fuwa), various types of calabashes (vishere), was generally done by men. Slaughtering of livestock was also the work of men. Making beehives and gathering honey were also the work of men in traditional Dawida society. It was generally also the young boys who guarded the crops from birds and other pests such as monkeys, baboons, wild pigs, etc. In the farms, women and girls sowed seeds, weeded, harvested and stored the crop. Fetching water and firewood were also the work of girls and women as was also most of the domestic work including cooking, washing utensils, cleaning the house, looking after young children, etc. It was also mostly women who made traditional baskets, vikapu and vidasi. The art of making various types of pots from clay, mbuta, nyungu, etc. was dominated by women.

A graphic example of division of labour is provided in the making of beer (denge) for special ceremonies. Young men would enter the sugarcane plantation (mghunda) and cut the sugarcane. Young women would carry the sugarcane home while elder women would cut it into pieces and pound it to squeeze out the juice, a process called kuhua. From then on, the men, especially elder men, would take over the work of brewing the beer.

4.3.2.2. Division of labour within the family—signs of emerging class society

So far, I have attempted to point out that the mature-communalism societies of Kenya such as the Dawida had a rich and dynamic culture long before the invasion of colonialism.

However, I have not said that this culture was complete and more developed than it is today. Neither is it my intention to suggest that the traditional African societies were without internal contradictions. After all development itself is a continuous process that does not proceed in a straight line but in zigzags.

It is important also to remember that even before the coming of colonialism, the morals of a class society had already appeared in the traditional mature-communalist African societies, albeit in their infancy. I have described the traditional African societies as mature communalism because it was the highest and last stage of communalism where there were signs that it was in transition to a higher class mode. Engels points out that under the socio-economic mode called communalism, the productive forces had hardly developed and people were living in caves and in primitive shelters while the source of food was simple hunting and gathering. At this stage of human history there was complete equality between all members of societies, women and men, the young and the old. On the other hand, the mature communalist traditional African societies had reached a very high level of cultural development, whose qualitative change was interrupted by colonialism.

Patrilineal culture

The traditional African mature communalism societies, such as traditional Dawida society were patrilineal. This means that men dominated the society and there was no gender equality. Although among the Dawida there were regulations in the land tenure system that ensured women too enjoyed user rights of land and other resources, and even inherited land, still men had more rights to ownership of family land and property than the women. Besides, the women had no direct rights to inherit land or other family property. It was men who were the head of families even

though it was the women who were mainly responsible for the practical domestic affairs including raising children, cooking food for the family, fetching water and firewood, cleaning, etc.

The patriarchal ideology of the society was embodied in Dawida cultural practises and is reflected in customs and oral literature. It is important to comprehend all this because what is sometimes refered to as Dawida or African culture to justify gender inequality is in fact this patrilineal culture. At the same time, it is important in the struggle of gender equality to refrain from merely stating that in the traditional African societies women were exploited, marginalised and oppressed, as this can be a simplistic way of explaining complex social and cultural relations. Instead, it will be more helpful to investigate and acquire details of how actually the various societies dealt with gender relations. For example, violence against women that is sometimes explained (by offenders) as African culture was not in fact allowed in Dawida traditional culture, even though it was patrilineal.

4.3.3. Social division of labour

The basis of traditional Dawida culture was agricultural production in which the basic unit of labour was the family. The economy was geared towards self-sufficiency to enable each family to meet its basic needs. However, in a society that already was able to produce a surplus, it had reached a stage where it was beginning to support people specialising in certain skills for a living. These skills included healers (warighiti), traditional psychologists (walaghui), herbalists (waghanga), blacksmiths (wachani), pot-makers, and various other artisans. The demand for their products meant that they were spending more time in producing these services and goods than in agricultural production. This was possible because they could exchange the

goods and services with the farm produce or other goods from other members of society through barter trade. In fact, barter trade was part of the culture of traditional Dawida society involving goods such as foodstuffs, tobacco (kumbaku), castor oil, game-meat, livestock, honey, calabashes, pots, things made of iron, handicraft, etc.

Social division of labour and exchange of products were signs of growing inequality within the society that was still based on communal production relations. Those with skills and talents of rendering certain services required by the society or producing necessary commodities, were using them to gain advantages over others. That is why, traditionally, the knowledge and skills of healing, herbs, psychology, pottery, surgery, working with iron, etc., were a guarded secret and inherited only within families. Names of clans such as Weni Mghanga (The clan of medicinemen), Weni Mchana (the clan of blacksmiths) originates from this culture of monopolising knowledge. This must have contributed towards slowing down the diffusion of knowledge and the development of the productive forces in the society. The culture existing in Kenya today, in which people are trained to acquire knowledge and skills not for the common good but for self-aggrandisement and exploiting other people, is also partly a product of this negative aspect of traditional cultural heritage that is being utilised by capitalism effectively. Dawida traditional society was therefore not static and without internal contradictions, but dynamic and developing towards a class society.

4.3.4. The culture was not developed but developing

Another important point to remember: Although we have pointed out that we had a rich and developing culture before the invasion of colonialism, we have not said that this culture was

complete and more developed than it is today. In the first place, development itself is a continuous process and there can never be limitations to it.

What we are emphasising is, like all human beings in the world, we were creating and developing our own culture in our own way. We were determining and shaping our own destiny long before colonialism. And that this particular culture was mature-communalism with all the achievements and contradictions that are inherent in the mode.

The greatest lesson we could learn from our cultural achievements before the coming of colonialism, is that we were independent and acted accordingly: we were depending on ourselves, our creative work and labour and our resources to solve our own problems, fulfil our needs, and develop ourselves. We believed in ourselves and our collective ability to develop our productive forces, to create our culture and to better our lives.

5.1. Slave/feudalist culture in Kenya

Before we introduce the discussion about the impact of colonialism on our culture, we must first say a few words about the slave/feudalist culture which was the product of the Kenyan nationalities that were living at the coast line of our country, including the islands of Mombasa, Lamu, Pate and Manda. We call it a slave/feudalist culture as it was at the transistion stage between slave and feudalist mode. The social relations of the slave-feudalist mode were still present within the dominant feudalist social relations of the Kenyan Coastal people. The feudalist mode is a higher mode historically than that of slave or communalism (or mature-communalism for that matter). It is also a fact that feudalist culture was materially more advanced and complex compared to mature-communalist culture.

Feudalism was a society divided into two main classes: the feudal class and that of the serfs. The feudal class was the ruling class, the class that wielded political, economic and state power. It was the class that owned the means of production and thus it was the class of exploiters. The class of the serfs was the exploited and oppressed class. This class society produced a very complex and sophisticated culture. This culture had produced its state and for many centuries, the Swahili had their own forms of laws, courts, police, prisons, standing armies, bureaucracies and kingdoms.

The Swahili had developed a highly sophisticate art, they had well celebrated pottery, carpets, furniture and with palm trees they produce many beautiful household goods and works of art. The Islamic religion they borrowed from the Arabs, which they assimilated and Africanised, was a mythical and very complex religion under mature-communalism in the interior of the country. The Kenyan coastal people not only had a rich orature, they had also developed a writing tradition and even today we can read Swahili written literature of many centuries ago.

The Swahilis had a highly developed architecture which we still see today at the coast of our country. They had built large stone and storied buildings. The coastal towns such as Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, Pate, Takaungu etc. are examples of the urban culture of the Swahili which have existed for many centuries. Their furniture, utensils, lamps, dresses, foods etc. were as sophisticated and complex as their mannerisms and eating habits.

They manufactured clothes and made all sorts of implements, weapons etc. from iron, copper and other metals. Their sea environment, the Indian Ocean, made them cosmopolitan, for they traded and interacted with people from the Middle East, India and China. Swahili culture was also a culture of trade

within Eastern Africa and with foreign countries. They traded in ivory, gold, spices, clothes, foods, pottery etc. With a well-developed science and technology which produced dhows, boats, other sea vessels and navigational skills which enabled them to travel long distances across the Indian Ocean, they were interacting with people of different nationalities and races. In this way their culture grew in both quantity and quality by borrowing and assimilating elements of other cultures.

In fact, it is the highly developed culture of the peoples at the Kenyan coast which enabled them to resist and defeat both the Arabs and the Portuguese invaders for many years. It is this culture that has provided us with Kiswahili language which is one of the most widely spoken African language, a language that has survived Arabic, Portuguese and English invasion, a language which continues to expand in spite of the imperialist cultural war against African languages. This culture had developed a written tradition so that even today we read Swahili literature written several centuries before the invasion of colonialism.

5.2. Social inequalities in the slave/feudalist culture

Yet this slave/feudalist culture of the Swahili, naturally, reflected the class contradictions in the class society. Feudalism achieved the formation of nation-states, such as Mombasa, Lamu, Malindi, Pate etc. which were nation-states in their own right. Wars and counter wars among the Swahili nations, was part and parcel of this culture. These wars resulted in destruction, waste and the suffering of the masses that had to slave to sponsor the kings, feudal lords, the state and the wars. Plots and counter-plots among the monarchy or the king's families for the succession of the kingships also characterised this culture.

This mode produced the class of feudalists or masters who owned most of the land and means of production and who

perfected the culture of exploitation of person by person. It was the class of feudalists that enjoyed and appropriated the best and most fruits of culture produced by the labour and sweat of the serf class. The feudalist class was characterised by the culture of laziness, waste, consumerism, pettiness, vanity and arrogance. They loved mundane pleasures, sexual orgies, and countless numbers of immoralities. This class of religious hypocrites, lazy people, of selfish, greedy and over-eating fat lords, oppressed and exploited the serfs and justified this through religion and charity. Islam was the dominant religion that was used to justify and maintain the oppressive and reactionary slave/feudal system.

The class of serfs and slaves spent all their lives working and producing the material basis of culture. Yet they never enjoyed the fruits of the culture they produced but spent their lives in toiling, suffering, being persecuted and in daily subservience to the kings, their feudal lords and masters. They ate the worst foods, were ill dressed (if dressed at all), they did not enjoy the comforts of the houses they built for the lords or the furniture they made for their exploiters and oppressors. They were forced to create art not for themselves but for entertaining and meeting the needs of the kings, the feudal/master class and God. Religious knowledge and philosophy was controlled and shaped by the ruling class and was used to preserve the culture of exploitation and oppression of person by person.

This feudalist culture abused, exploited and oppressed women to levels that were unknown to the mature-communalist cultures at the interior of Kenya. While under mature communalism women were oppressed only as women, under slave/feudalism, they were oppressed as slave/serfs and as women at the same time.

5.3. Class struggles in the slave/feudalist mode

It is important not to forget that wherever there are classes, there will also inevitably be class struggles. Class struggles, therefore, were part and parcel of Swahili feudalist culture. Whether in Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu or Pate, the slaves and serfs were always struggling to free themselves from the exploitation and oppression of the feudal and land lords. These struggles took many forms. The slaves and serfs created the culture of struggle and liberation. The most conscious of them produced popular songs, narratives, proverbs, drama, myths and legends which propagated the ideology of struggle for the liberation of their class. They preached the morality of rebellion and defiance among themselves. They even made weapons and devised tactics and strategies of sabotaging and damaging their class enemies. Their language carried the images of protest. Their straggles were both passive and active.

The history of the Swahili, their literature and what research has been made so far manifests the existence of the culture of struggle for liberation from slavery and feudalism. For example, the fact that the state was present among the Swahili nations does show the attempt of the kings and the ruling classes to maintain their rule by force. For the state is about force. It is the machine of oppression of one class by another.

6. The Colonial Period

We have seen that long before Kenya was invaded and colonised by the British, there had been attempts and counter attempts by the Arabs and the Portuguese to colonise it. However, the powerful culture that had been produced by the Swahili feudal states successfully resisted and prevented foreign rule for many years.

Thus, for many centuries, foreigners were unable to penetrate into the interior of Kenya to the mature-communalist cultures that were developing. However, from 1895, British colonialism started its attempts of colonising our country. After many years of resistance from Kenyans, they finally succeeded to colonise our country in 1920.

6.1. Colonialism declared war against Kenyan cultures

A people with a culture of their own and national pride cannot be easily colonised. The colonialists knew this truth better than anybody else. That is why right from the beginning, colonialism organised war against our cultures. This physical and psychological war started by violently destroying our material culture and ways of life. The terrorism and genocide which was organised by Europeans against Africans during the slave trade in the 15th Century was continued in Kenya by British colonialism.

Now, the extermination of a people is the first and most important step towards destroying a people's culture. This is because it is people who make culture and culture itself is about people. The colonial state (the laws, the courts, the police, the army, the prisons, the government, etc.) was introduced and used to perform this task: of organised genocide against our peoples, destroying our cultural achievements and resistance against foreign domination and foreign culture. Kenya's history is full of examples of heroic resistance against the colonial culture of violence and domination. It is also about the brutality and destruction perpetrated by British colonialism against our people and cultures.

6.2. The destruction of the traditional economy

The next step taken by colonialism against our culture was to destroy our economy, rudely and abruptly attack and annihilate

our communal system of production and impose the capitalist system upon us. Thus the colonial state and White settlers robbed the Kenyan peasants of their land, created landlessness, pauperism and started the process of underdeveloping us. This means that our cultural achievements in agriculture, medicine, science and technology, political and economic organisation, were targeted for destruction. Our ways of farming and our foods were systematically destroyed, although, as we shall see colonialism never succeeded completely in this.

The colonialist directly and indirectly waged war against our cultural achievements in science and in technology. In fact, the colonialists organised what is known as technological capture which ensured that our technological development was interrupted or captured.

It is a well-known fact that our iron and copper smiths, our medicine men and women, our artists and artisans were demonised, threatened, intimidated, tortured and even killed to stop their creative work which challenged colonialism and the racist culture. Colonialist waged a deliberate psychological war upon African people and culture with the objective destroying our historical and cultural achievements in order to pave way for the culture of dependency on colonialism.

6.3. Imposition of a new land-tenure system produced a new culture

Again, our people were robbed of their land and made landless. In this way they were forced to work for the white settlers and colonialists. Thus a culture of working for other people, of exploitation, was forced upon the Kenyan people by the British colonialists. By being robbed of their land, by being forced to pay taxes to the colonial government, by being robbed of their right of controlling their own economy and lives, our

people were reduced to a life of struggle and toil for mere subsistence and survival and had hardly time or the material conditions for creative activity which is necessary for the development of culture. Colonisation of our country as far as material culture is concerned, meant the underdevelopment and capture of our science, technology and all the research our ancestors had been doing. It was calculated to stop us developing in our own way and to make us dependent on colonialism.

The colonialist state was established also to violently destroy our people's political and social organisation. The democratic rule of elders and the customs and beliefs based on the mature-communalist morality, was destroyed and replaced by the system of colonial chiefs which was used to serve colonial interests.

Common ownership of land which ensured that there was no class oppression was systematically destroyed and replaced by the class culture of private ownership of land and class exploitation. Lack of land produced poverty and hunger and this gave birth to the culture of dependency, corruption, selfishness, greediness, cruelty and egoism. The lack of honest means of earning a living bred the culture of theft, robbery, trickery and prostitution that had not existed before. Prostitution, for example, was never known to the mature-communalist societies of Kenya before colonialism. It only existed at the coast where, as we have seen, there were feudal societies and cultures.

6.4. Missionaries and their mission to fight against African cultures

The missionaries and colonialists worked hand and hand to fight our spiritual cultures, religions, orature, dances, songs, medical practises, customs and traditions, family values and the ways of life that our people had created and developed since their existence. The missionaries always justified colonialism,

preached terror and destruction against our morals, philosophy and beliefs.

In the name of God, we were told that the white missionaries and the colonialist came for the good of us black people, to take us away from darkness into light, to help save our souls from eternal damnation. Our cultures were said to be primitive, immoral, sinful and backward. It was said that we Africans are primitive, barbaric, uncivilised and only next to animals. It was preached that we were always lost and had never created anything useful. We were said to be so blind that although we had been living in our indigenous Kenya, we had to wait for people to come from Europe to discover Athi River, Tana River, Mt. Kenya, Mt. Kilimanjaro, Lake Turkana, 'Lake Nyanza' etc. Even our names were symbols of sin and we had to adopt European names in order to be baptised to go to heaven. Colonial education taught that the white race was created by God himself to civilise us the black race and to shine light upon the dark continent of Africa! Missionarism, racism and colonialism were inseparable in their conspiracy against African cultures.

Colonialism was about political, economic, social, psychological and cultural domination, exploitation, oppression and underdevelopment of one people by the other. In our case it was the British. British colonialism imposed capitalist social relations and commodity production upon us. It introduced the strange and despicable culture of some people working for others as house boys, house maids, 'shamba boys', cowboys etc. Because language manifests and expresses culture, the underdevelopment of our cultures also meant the underdevelopment of our languages which had been growing and flourishing long before the colonialists arrived. Fortunately, the

Kenyan people resisted colonialism in this regard and were able to preserve and conserve their indigenous languages to this day.

6.5. Colonial war against traditional education

Colonialism also struggled against our traditional education system which used to meet the practical, intellectual and other needs of our communities. It was replaced by colonial education which was calculated to produce unskilled or semi-skilled brainwashed and whitewashed natives to serve the colonial government, Christian missionaries, White settlers, British capitalists, etc. Right from the start, the British formulated and implemented a policy of producing brain washed elite Africans, sons of loyalists, African Christians, and colonial chiefs who would drink and imbue European colonial values and act as puppets and stooges in the service of her majesties government in our country. In fact, the comprador class now in power which embraces the culture of betraying our country to imperialism for personal greed is the brainchild not only of neo-colonialism but archaic colonialism as well.

6.6. The basic aim of colonialism was to dominate and exploit Africa

Of course, colonialism did introduce some modern science and technology, medicine, schools, roads, health centres, railway, etc. But it denied and destroyed what we had achieved already while doing so. It organised the building of the railway (which has not been expanded by the neo-colonial government in power today!!) and construction of some roads and infrastructure. But this was done not to develop Kenya and Kenyans but to develop Britain and enrich the British capitalists by exploiting our human and natural resources and transporting them to Europe. Above all, with colonialism also originated the concept of Kenya as a nation. For before colonialism, Kenya was an

amalgamation of various nationalities. However, we insist, colonialism as a system was aimed specifically at the exploitation and oppression of our people and cultures and whatever positive results it produced were incidental, accidental and inevitable.

6.7. The culture of resistance against imperialism

From the time colonialism invaded our country and hitherto, our people produced and continue to produce a culture of resistance. The colonial policy of organised violence against the Kenyan people was opposed by the culture of resistance and struggle against colonialism. This resistance and struggle was manifested in many forms. Sometimes it was passive and other times it was active. For example, many Kenyans rejected Christian religion and insisted on following their ancestral religions. My paternal grandfather, Mwandwiro wa Mghanga, whom I am named after, was such a man, for example. He died in 1983 when he was about a hundred years while still rejecting Christianity and worshipping the gods of his ancestors.

During the Mau Mau national liberation war, for example, songs, dances, narratives, fables, myths and legends were created to extol the anti-colonial struggles, praise the heroes and heroines who distinguished themselves in the struggle for uhuru and to satirise and discredit traitors, cowards and collaborators of colonialists. Weapons were made and strategies and tactics of fighting colonialism were devised. The colonial culture of state violence and terrorism against the Kenyan people, threats, intimidation, arrests, detentions, torture, imprisonment and killings of patriots, did not succeed to destroy the popular culture of anti-imperialist resistance and struggle: the struggle against racism and exploitation, the struggle for land and freedom.

The culture of resistance and struggle existed throughout the colonial period. This anti-imperialist culture belongs to the

masses of workers and peasants of our country and spearheaded by patriots of our country. It was expressed by popular heroes and heroines such as Shee Mvita, Mwangeka wa Malowa, Mee Kitelili, Waiyaki wa Hinga, Koitalel, Harry Thuku, Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru, Muindi Mbingu and many others throughout our country who died in the struggle against foreign invasion and colonialism. The climax of the culture of the anti-colonial struggle was expressed by the Land and Freedom Army, popularly known as Mau Mau.

Mau Mau was the liberation movement of the workers and peasants of our country. Its leadership concluded that the colonial culture of violence and oppression could only be defeated by an organised counter violence from the oppressed, the Kenyan people. Thus Kimathi wa Waciuri and thousands of Mau Mau heroes and heroines expressed this culture through guerrilla warfare which ultimately defeated British colonialism. Mau Mau was a popular national movement because it was based on millions of the Kenyan people whom it led in the liberation war for national liberation and freedom.

6.8. The culture of betrayal and collaboration with imperialism

But throughout the period of colonialism, there was also the culture of betrayal, opportunism and collaboration side by side with the popular culture of resistance and struggle. This culture of traitorism was the culture embraced by those Kenyans who decided to collaborate with colonialism for personal gains. It was the culture of those who chose to betray their people, their culture and nation to the colonial oppressors in order to receive rewards as colonial chiefs, civil servants, soldiers, Christian priests, etc.

The traitors were used to fight against the freedom of their own country by being brainwashed or being bribed with land and

money. This culture of collaboration with the colonial oppressors preached that Africans are backward and primitive and that colonialism came to civilise us! It was the culture of sycophancy and cowardice which taught that it was sinful to fight against colonialism and that the British were invincible and to struggle against them was in vain.

During the Mau Mau war of liberation, this culture was best expressed by the home-guards that did not stop at anything to show their loyalty to British colonialism and their hatred to the struggle for uhuru. The home-guards took up arms to fight against the freedom of their own country. They arrested, detained, tortured, murdered and committed all acts of betrayal against freedom fighters and the masses. They were fanatical in their hatred of the patriotic culture epitomised by Mau Mau.

Unfortunately, it was the collaborators or home-guards who took over political, economic and state power when British archaic colonialism was finally defeated.

7. The Neo-colonial Period:

7.1. Colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism

We have said it a number of times that the so-called independence of 1963, was never genuine independence. For colonialism was immediately replaced by neo-colonialism. During colonialism, it was only the British who had 'the right' to exploit and oppress our country. But now during neo-colonialism all capitalist powers have given themselves 'the right' to exploit and oppress Kenyans.

Neo-colonialism means that the economy of our country is controlled by imperialism. It means the presence of imperialist military bases in our country. It means the economy of Kenya being dominated and controlled by foreign imperialist powers. It means being governed by the brutal economic policies of

structural adjustment programmes of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that dominate the planning of 'African national economies'. This consolidates the culture of working as slaves of foreign countries in our own motherland.

The culture of poverty, begging, dependency and underdevelopment created by the exploitation of our country by imperialism, has in turn produced the culture which makes Kenyans subjects of pity, charity, and contempt by being beggars of aid and loans from the same nations that exploit them.

7.2. How neo-colonialism works

Neo-colonialism survives and works by making sure that state power is in the hands of their puppets. We have said that the colonialists ensured that they left political, economic and state power to those who served colonialism, the collaborators or home-guards. Imperialism creates a class of local traitors which collaborates with it to exploit and oppress the rest of society.

This is the comprador class, the class of local millionaires, of bureaucratic capitalists, of the landlords, of those with shares, chairmanships and directorships in the capitalists and imperialist companies and industries in Kenya. This is the ruling class which has the state machine at its disposal.

7.3. Neo-colonialism and cultural inequalities

We have said that we cannot talk about Kenyan or African culture at this particular historical time when our country is basically divided into two nations, the nation of the few rich comprador class and the nation of the majority of Kenyans, the workers, peasants, the majority poor, exploited and oppressed.

The nation of the rich Kenyans enjoys the best culture in our country. They live in beautiful, large and modern houses with the best furniture and decorations that money can buy. In all Kenyan towns there are exclusive suburbs where the rich people live.

These areas are served with all the best that the cities, municipal councils and government can provide. Large clean compounds, clean water, electricity, televisions, radiograms, videos, expensive utensils, cookers, refrigerators and fridges, expensive cars, servants, security guards, dogs etc. are part and parcel of the culture of the rich nation in Kenya. This is the class that eats and drinks all that is best in Kenya. It is the class that receives the best education, health, recreation and security services in the country. The toys their children play with are very different from those of the children of the working and peasant class. Their games of golf, cricket, swimming, rugby, tennis and chase are hardly accessibly to the class of the majority of Kenyans who live in the slums or in the poor country-side.

The life styles of those who wallow in the richness is different from those who live a life of toil and struggle for survival. Their morals and philosophy are different from that of the poor. The wishes and aspiration of the rich Kenyans are at variance with the wishes and aspirations of the poor and exploited Kenyans. For example, the majority of Kenyan people wish to be liberated from the capitalist system which has given birth to the culture of wild competition and exploitation of person by person and of our country by foreigners. The comprador minority class in power organises and fights to maintain the capitalist's relations which allow them to appropriate the fruits of culture produced by the Kenyan masses.

This class of neo-colonial puppets, the wanyapara (overseers) class of imperialist's interests in our country, the class of colonial dogs, is a eunuch class castrated by European capitalist values. It is a class which consumes foreign culture without producing that of its own. It is a robot class which apes foreign capitalist culture without shame. It is this class which prides in English, French,

and Germany, etc. and despises Kiswahili and other Kenyan languages. They struggle to ape the mannerisms, dressing and eating habits, customs and traditions of the rich Americans and Europeans. They read and pride themselves with useless European literature while despising progressive African, European and world literature. They are brainwashed to despise the positive traditions and customs of their peoples while adopting the reactionary alien ones. They yearn for American and European cinema, music, dance, drama, painting, life styles, etc. while they hardly make effort to promote or create African popular culture. This class has lost its African cultural roots and this enables the imperialists to manipulate it and use it against the vast majority of Kenyans.

Unfortunately, at all times, the ideas of the ruling class are also, inevitably, the ideas that assume the position of the ideas of the whole society. For this reason, the comprador ruling class has imposed the neo-colonial capitalist culture upon Kenyans. The masses are driven to worship and to strive for European values in order to be employed or to be considered moral and civilised. The English language, for example, continues to be imposed upon our people just as Christianity, and European music, theatre, cinema, customs, beliefs, mannerisms and morals are. The education system is used to impose neo-colonial culture and to create a people capable of producing loyal service to capitalism and imperialism and the comprador oppressive regime in power. The music, dances, theatre, art and creativity of the Kenyan people has been turned into tools of reactionary propaganda and sycophantisms, of praising traitors, dictators and exploiters, of propagating the culture of fear and silence among the masses.

The capitalist morality of exploitation, egoism, greed, corruption, wild competition, land and plot grabbing, cruelty,

'eating one another', looting public property and the worship of money and wealth, has become part and parcel of the Kenyan society.

The culture of nepotism and tribalism has also been imposed upon the Kenyan people, by a regime which relies on the tactics of divide and rule it inherited from its colonial masters.

7.4. The culture of violence

Violence is part and parcel of the culture of the capitalist system. Capitalism uses all forms of violence to exploit and subjugate the workers, peasants and all the exploited. The capitalist state is a machine of organized violence against those who oppose capitalist exploitation. The neo-colonial state is the extension of the capitalist state in the neo-colonial country. This is best illustrated by the Moi/Kanu regime. The dictatorial Moi/Kanu regime is the violence of the primitive comprador class against the vast majority of the Kenyan people who are poor, exploited and oppressed. The dictatorship acts on behalf of imperialism which cannot survive without state terrorism against popular resistance. The inhuman and neo-colonial structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund can only be implemented through state violence against the general population.

Kenyan laws, courts, police and prisons are used to violently suppress workers strikes, peasant protests, student and teachers' demonstrations, political meetings and organisations, popular cultural activities, etc. The Kenyan army and police has been fighting a brutal war against the Kenyan people, especially the Pokot, the Somali and other ethnic groups in North Eastern Province since colonial times. The PCs, the DCs, the DOs, the Chiefs and the Sub-chiefs are all public administration organs of extending this culture of fear, threats, intimidation and force to

the grassroots. Even the language of the president, his ministers and government officials is always the language of abuse, threats and violence against the citizens. Police violence in the streets and cells, fascism in Kenyan prisons, brutality of the landlords against the tenants, robbery with violence, rape, political assassinations, corruption, domestic violence, road accidents, violence in the churches and religious institutions, students' riots, etc. has become a way of life in our country, a culture imposed by capitalism and neo-colonialism to the whole society.

7.5. The culture of poverty and underdevelopment

The Kenyatta/Moi/Kanu comprador regime has imposed upon us the culture of dependency, frustrates the creative efforts of Kenyans, prevents Kenyans from controlling their own economy and to organise the culture of science and technology. This regime has driven and is driving us into the culture of poverty, ignorance, backwardness and dictatorship during the time of the wonders of scientific and technological revolution in the world.

To the majority of Kenyans, the workers, peasants, the poor and marginalised, poverty, ignorance, and disease is a way of life manifested everywhere. It is a starving culture, a culture of hunger and disease for the majority as the culture of producing coffee, tea, pyrethrum, sisal, flowers, sugar, etc. for capitalist markets, is destroying our traditional progressive agriculture, foods and eating habits and has reduced our peoples' diet to simply ugali (maize meal) and sukumawiki (a type of cabbage), when it exists at all.

It is the Kenyan working class which has done the basic work of building the existing infrastructure of roads, buildings and towns, factories, industries, etc. Yet they hardly eat the fruits of the culture they produce by their own sweat and blood. Actually,

it is the working class which continues to be the basis of the material and intellectual culture Kenya. But all their efforts are appropriated by the imperialists and their puppets. Nearly all the music, songs, dances, sports and art is created by the peasants and workers or those who are part of or originate from this class. In fact, it is the cultural resistance, creativity and work of the peasants and workers that has enabled our languages, our music, our dances, our literatures—our African cultural heritage—to survive from being annihilated by colonialism and neo-colonialism.

8. Conclusion

The comprador class has nothing positive to offer us Kenyans in terms of culture. Instead, this class collaborates with imperialism to underdeveloped us and prevent us from developing our national culture. This class has imposed upon us the culture of fear and silence which strengthens dictatorship, fascistic tendencies, and undermines any semblance of popular democracy and participation, and human rights. The rule of the primitive capitalists and neo-colonial surrogates emasculates us, destroys our creative talents and potentialities, and wastes our efforts and possibilities.

For these reasons, it is clear that we have to struggle for cultural identity as a nation hitherto. We have no cultural independence because we are not independent yet. We have to struggle and fight for political liberation. For without political liberation we cannot have cultural liberation. But the reverse is also true: that without cultural liberation we cannot have political liberation. This means that the alternative we have to the neo-colonial culture of national exploitation and oppression, of poverty, backwardness, underdevelopment, dependency, violence and violation of human rights, is the culture of struggle

against capitalism, imperialism, dictatorship and the rule of traitors.

All our morality, art, literature, music, politics, sports, individual and collective creativities, talents and energies should be directed towards building and strengthening the culture of resistance, struggle and liberation from internal and external exploitation and oppression. Political liberation first and foremost means that the workers, peasants, patriots and the masses of our country must capture state power from the unpopular dictatorial neo-colonial regime. Popular state power should then be used to lead and mobilise the masses towards social and national liberation—cultural revolution.

The cultural revolution will aim, among other things, at democratisation of the Kenyan society, rooting out the culture of dictatorship, exploitation and oppression of person by person, liberating our country from capitalism and imperialism and towards laying the material foundation for the development of science, technology, industry and building an independent, integrated and self-sustaining economy.

The ultimate aim is to create and build a Kenyan national revolutionary socialist culture, a culture of humanism, of laying the material and social base for the exercise of participatory democracy and human rights and the climate of the participation of all Kenyans in the process of creating and enjoying the fruits of culture.

ON NATIONAL BUDGETS THAT ARE ELUSIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MAJORITY

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
14 June 2019

Yesterday, 13th June 2019, the national budget of Kenya was presented to Parliament by the Cabinet Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, Mr. Henry Rotich. The budget of over three trillion Kenyan shillings is not only the largest budget in the history of Kenya, but also in the East African Community countries whose national budgets were also presented simultaneously with the Kenyan one, as is usually the case.

As a matter of fact, Kenya's national budget, which is read in the second week of June every year, has risen from billions to a trillion and now to over three trillion shillings. Had the rise of the budget been directly proportional to development of the country, the country would have moved out of the quagmire of underdevelopment and started developing. If the promises of the budgets were to be implemented consistently every financial year, Kenyans would have at least observed their daily lives changing for the better. As it is now, the budget rituals that are repeated every year hardly impact positively the lives of the majority of Kenyan citizens. Instead, their conditions worsen every day. Budgets come and go, but poverty, slums, unemployment and all the contradictions of underdevelopment remain and escalate.

Only the lives of the few elite in society, members of the ruling class and the upper echelon of the middle class improve. Development seems to happen in the urban areas where the elite reside, display opulent and flamboyant lifestyles and build infrastructure to facilitate their businesses. Hardly any or very

little development happens in the rural areas of Kenya where the majority of Kenyans live. There, life remains lethargic, unchanging and confined to incessant cycle of poverty, ruin and dilapidation. And now that Mr. Rotich violated the Constitution by allocating less than fifteen percent of the budget to the forty-seven devolved governments, the gap between the rural and urban areas and that of the rich and the poor will continue to widen.

In other words, the capitalist system that has been embraced by the ruling class and imposed upon all Kenyans has failed to liberate the country from the path of poverty and underdevelopment. The budgets and planning that are implemented more in the breach than the observance are meant to perpetuate the status quo of capitalism that has succeeded only in making Kenya to be among the most corrupt countries in the world and with the widest class divisions.

Despite the pretence to citizen's participation in the budget making process, the national budget always ends up being the budget of the elite for the elite and by the elite. The poor always end up being taxed more than the rich.

The budgets when looked at critically, always prioritise the interests of the few in society: huge salaries for maintaining lavish life styles of privileged classes, large unsustainable projects that are used to amass wealth through graft, destruction of parastatals and public property by privatising or selling them to members of the ruling class, and building infrastructure to facilitate the movement of capital and goods of the elites with the majority of Kenyans only being incidental in the infrastructural objectives.

Besides, if the past experience is anything to go by, most of the three trillion budget—that mainly will be funded by the

Kenyan taxpayers—will be stolen, and the thieves will escape with their loot with impunity. One only has to make a lifestyle audit just from observation of Kenya's rich people that include the bureaucratic capitalists, and he or she will conclude that the wealth they hoard and display unashamedly is from the theft of public money and property—because it has not been otherwise.

The state institutions that have been funded lavishly by the three trillion budget—that includes Parliament, Judiciary, DCI and EACC have only paid lip service to the cancer of corruption that is perpetrated with impunity. In fact, the Cabinet Secretary for Finance who presented the budget has a case pending in court involving the theft of billions of public money. His cabinet colleagues who will also oversee the implementation of the three trillion budget are being investigated for the robbery of millions and billions of public money and abuse of their offices. It was the same story in the past, it is so today and as long as the capitalist system remains, the greedy individuals in power will continue to budget for the national budget to satisfy their greed. They believe that they will continue to do so with impunity, forgetting what is happening now in nearby Sudan.

Each year, budgets are presented as if they have no history, as though they come from the blue. Hardly is there any critical analysis made of the previous budget about the previous budget's prospects and problems with conclusions to inform the present. Thus history is always repeated but not as a farce but as a tragedy.

All budgets hitherto have ended up ignoring the priorities that form the wishes and aspirations of the majority of Kenyan people that are expressed at citizens' budget making participatory forums. The wishes and aspirations of the majority of Kenyans are those reflected in the concept of development of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK).

CPK believes that the people are the subjects and objects of economic, political and cultural development and that all national budgets and planning should be based on this fact. To trigger development and eradicate poverty, national budgets must aim at firstly meeting the essential necessities of all people: food, housing, clothing, education, health and employment. A national budget that is deliberately geared towards eliminating corruption, greed, privileges of the few elite, mismanagement and waste would initiate the pro-people centred projects in agriculture, industry and trade to achieve this. Such a budget would not impose more and more taxes to the poor such as bodaboda operators who merely struggle to survive. Instead, it will shift the tax burden to the capitalist elites who hoard millions and billions of wealth in form of money and capital, most of which is stolen or exploited from the poor.

In this regard, the measure of development and progress perceived by national budgets should not be based on vague and abstract statistics of accounting figures but on concrete conditions of based on the people's lives that must change for the better.

In other words, the history of Kenya hitherto suggests that as long as the country remains under the capitalist elite and capitalism, the promises made by successive national budgets, including the three trillion shillings one read yesterday, will continue to remain elusive to the majority of Kenyans. Capitalism has failed in Kenya. For Kenya to start developing, the system must be replaced by socialism.

PEACE AND SECURITY IN EASTERN AFRICA AND GREAT LAKES REGION

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP

The following Paper was presented while facilitating the theme discussion on Peace and Security at the Pan-Africanist Regional Conference for Eastern Africa
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1. Introduction: The reality of insecurity in the Region

Insecurity is a big problem within the countries of Eastern Africa and Great Lakes Region. It is also a regional problem that must be addressed as such. It is therefore an appropriate agenda of the conference.

Peace and security are necessary conditions for development because lack of sustainable peace and development constrains the development of the countries of the region. Democracy, human rights, development and social progress cannot take place in a situation of conflicts and violence. However, at the same time lack of sustainable development is itself the root cause of insecurity and lack of peace. This underlines the need to put the agenda of peace and security as a key agenda of Pan-Africanists from the people's perspectives of development.

Although it differs in history and degree from country to country, insecurity is a big problem in all countries of the region. After the creation of the Republic of South Sudan, war has not only remained but also escalated. As I write, the country is involved in the most senseless, reactionary and vicious wars in its painful history. The brutal war which regional leaders have not addressed adequately continues to cause thousands of deaths, injuries, gross violations of human rights, refugees, internal displaced persons, hunger, poverty and suffering. The war has

stopped all the optimism and development activities that had started since the establishment of the youngest nation in Africa.

There is also perpetual war in its sister nation, Sudan, including that of the Darfur region that has taken many decades. Allegations of gross violations of human rights by the state and other warring parties are more often than not reported causing concern to the African Union and the international community. War in Sudan also constrains development in the country.

The war in Somalia also continues despite the establishment of the government in Mogadishu with the assistance of regional governments. Deaths, gross violations of human rights, hunger, poverty, destruction, piracy and suffering are words that are associated with Somalia almost on a day-to-day basis. Insecurity in Somalia also causes direct and indirect insecurity in the region not only through terrorism—Al-Shabaab—but also the problem of small-arms and light-weapons in neighbouring Kenya, Ethiopia and throughout the region. Contraband trade and its negative economic implications to the development of the countries is also a consequence of the instability in Somalia. In fact, it is for these reasons that Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Ethiopia are involved militarily inside Somalia through the African Union.

War in DRC Congo with violations of human rights, including rape and crimes against humanity, destruction of the lives of entire ethnic groups, creations of internal displaced persons, etc., has persisted for so long that it is now almost taken for granted and thus abandoning the victims of the war. The people of the richest country in terms of natural resources have suffered so much as a result of colonialism, neo-colonialism and war that the country is used as an example of how abundant

availability of natural resources could be a curse and not a blessing!

Rwanda, Uganda and Ethiopia too are also engaged in internal wars to a lesser extent, wars that often spill over to neighbouring countries. Dictatorship and violations of human rights are often reported in the countries that claim to adhere to multiparty democracy.

At the same time the sister countries of Eritrea and Ethiopia apart from their internal conflicts are still also in a state of war with one another. The state of war constrains development and poverty eradication in the countries and is also responsible for causing thousands of their citizens to migrate abroad where many of them perish in the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea in the process.

War has broken again in Burundi creating thousands of refugees in neighbouring Rwanda and Tanzania. In fact, if the present conflict in Burundi is not addressed with the urgency and seriousness it deserves it may end up to be a genocidal war. Then the history of hundreds of thousands of deaths, refugees, internal displaced persons and what was all wrong in the past will repeat itself and the region will act when it is too late.

Kenya is not only at war with Al-Shabaab terrorists inside Somalia and within the country, but it is also dealing with conflicts concerning the most underdeveloped and marginalised areas of northern Kenya and semi-arid lands of the pastoralists and nomads that make the areas almost ungovernable. At the same time, the country carries the burden of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, DRC Congo and Eritrea, not to speak of the internal displaced persons of the country's 2008 post-election inter-ethnic violence

and also of Tana River, Pokot, Baringo, Turkana and areas prone to cattle rustlings and inter-ethnic conflicts.

Tanzania, which is relatively the most stable country in the region in relation to absence of violence and war, still had to deal with political conflicts in Pemba and Zanzibar. And as the country prepares to conduct national elections that will be the most contested in its history it needs to be careful to avoid the situation of the 2008 post-election violence in neighbouring Kenya. Tanzania too faces the threat of the escalating terrorism in the region.

2. Definition of peace and security

Peace and security is not only the absence of conflicts, violence and war. Peace and security is in fact the absence of the root causes of conflicts, violence and war. Without eradicating the root causes of conflicts, violence and war, it is impossible to have sustainable peace and security. In other words, peace and security should be defined in the context of human security. The problem of conflicts, war and insecurity in Eastern Africa and the Great Lakes region are failures of the states and also the people to create the necessary conditions for the development of human security. Violence, conflicts and wars that are notorious in our region is failure/refusal of the states and ruling classes to address the basic issue of human security and to create the necessary conditions for providing all the people of their countries with human security which is their right as citizens and as human beings.

3. Definition of human security

Human security means conditions in which human beings exercise their human rights and are therefore able to live in peace, dignity, freedom and without fear. In order to have human security people must realise or access the following:

a) **Basic needs**: food, shelter, clothes, access to water and a clean and healthy environment. One cannot have peace when he/she lacks basic needs, for a hungry and destitute person, for example, cannot be said to be peaceful even in the absence of war. That is why, for example, conflicts and violence are part and parcel of life in the slums and remote rural areas especially in semi-arid areas where pastoralists and nomads live and eke a living. Violence and crime too find fertile ground in poverty. That is why poverty and underdevelopment are major root causes of insecurity and lack of peace.
b) **Access to social services**: education, health and other services are also necessary for human security. Implementation of programs of taking care of the needs of persons with disabilities, elderly persons, retired persons, the sick, children and the marginalised in society also enhance human security.
c) **Democracy and human rights**: There cannot be peace and security without democracy and human rights. In fact, one of the key root causes of conflicts, violence and wars in the region is dictatorship, authoritarian rule and violations of constitutions and human rights of citizens by leaders, states and individuals. In order to have genuine and sustainable peace people must live in freedom, democracy and participate in making decisions that govern their lives and that of their nation. They must have political liberty, i.e., they must be free to form, join and organise a political parties of their choice and to elect leaders of their choice. They must live without fear of the state or other individuals. For this reason, it is primitive and reactionary for any country to have political

prisoners. Major conflicts in the region including those of Sudan, South Sudan and Burundi are consequences of the violations of democracy and human rights. There is no development that can happen or allowed to happen at the expense of democracy and human rights for the ultimate objective of development is to satisfy and realise human rights.

d) **Equity and equality:** Without equity and equality there cannot be peace and security in society or nation. For wherever there are classes there will inevitably be class struggles. And class struggles are conflicts. Greed, corruption and primitive accumulation by political, civil service, religious, professional and other leaders and their classes have made the East African and Horn of Africa region one of the most unequal societies in the world. That is why conflicts over land and property are not only part and parcel of life but also a necessary historical development. Implementation of neoliberal economic policies that escalates poverty among the majority of citizens and increases the gap between the few rich and the majority poor is a major root cause of conflicts and insecurity.

   There cannot be peace and security when local communities are denied the right to accrue direct and indirect benefits from their natural resources. That is why conflicts over natural resources that also involve neo-colonialism and imperialism are dominant causes of violence and insecurity in the region.

e) **National cohesion/inclusivity**: Tribalism, nepotism, national and social exclusion (including class divisions and discrimination), gender inequality and discrimination

of persons with disability and marginalised communities do not help to build national cohesion and therefore also not peace and security. To have sustainable peace all the citizens of the country of all ethnic communities, groups and minorities must be included equally in the development process and feel that they are included.

f) **Regional integration** from the perspectives of the citizens of Eastern Africa and the Great Lakes region: opening of borders, free movement of labour and capital, cultural exchanges etc. The people should exercise the right to move, live and own property in any country of the region. Hostilities between Sudan and Republic of South Sudan and between Ethiopia and Eritrea, for example, do not help the integration process. Neither does construction of the wall by Kenya at the boundary with Somalia purportedly to curb terrorism from Al-Shabaab.

g) **The question of leadership** must be addressed: no to dictators, tribalists, tyrants, thieves, egoist, greedy and corrupt leaders, whether benevolent or not.

h) **Impunity and justice**: Crime, including that of corruption, violation of human rights and robbery of public property by leaders and individuals must be punished and seen to be punished. Nobody should be allowed to violate constitutions and laws with impunity. Citizens must exercise the right to remove governments, states and individuals who misuse power using all means possible, including violence. For conditions may be created where people are forced to use violence and war in order to create conditions for peace and security.

4. Terrorism

Terrorism is a real threat to peace and security in the Eastern Africa and Great Lakes region and must of necessity be addressed by all the states and people of the region. Again, as necessary as it is, a militaristic approach alone has not and will not work. A political approach that addresses the root causes of terrorism, many of which are related to lack of human security, should be used for the sustainable solution to the problem of terrorism. Why, for example, is 'radicalisation' targeting the poor, the unemployed youth mostly in the slums of urban areas but also now including the confused, frustrated and disgruntled youth in colleges and universities?

Fighting terrorism without comprehending and dealing with the root causes, including the problem of increasing superstition among the people, neoliberalism and imperialism ideology and praxis in the region will not bring about sustainable solution. The following poem that I wrote sometime this year is about the basis of terrorism and its ideology. This should be taken seriously by all involved in the war against terrorism, i.e., the leaders, states and also all citizens:

The Origin of Terrorism
Capitalist contradictions
Imperialist hegemony
Oppression of person by person
Poverty amidst richness
Widening gap
Between the few rich
And the majority poor
Within society and nations
And between nations of the world
Unemployment

And problems and suffering of all sorts
Especially among the youth;
War, foreign domination and discrimination
Growth of slums in urban areas
And its life full to the brim
With a myriad of problems;
The development of science and technology
The creates enormous wealth to a few
While pushing the majority to the fringes;
Corruption and greed and egoism
And the erosion of humane morals
It squeezes out goodness from many
To leave empty shells of a people -
People who do not value the life of other people
People who hate even their own lives
People who despise freedom and culture;
Also there is the lack of hope
Of life of peace and happiness on earth
For the exploited and oppressed;
The result of all this
Is crime, drug abuse, alcoholism, empty rebellion
And hatred, jealousy, anger and revenge;
But instead of the ideology of liberation
Revolutionary struggle
The truth based on historical materialism
Of possibility of heaven here on earth
That will be brought about by just struggles
Socialist revolution -
Instead of this
It is the reactionary ideology of superstition
Religions

Of false promises
But enticing lies
About the existence
Of life after death
And the pleasures there in heaven
Promise of happiness that entice then poor
Who have lost hope on earth
And who smoke the opium of superstition
To despise life!
The consequence of all this
Is also
The root cause
Of terrorism:
Unjust wars
Sadistic and brutal murders
Violence terror and war
Rebellion against human civilization
Fear and desperation
Dictatorship and madness
And all in the name of God!
Terrorism:
Big
Sensitive
Persisting
Problem
In the country
Africa
And the world
Today.

Mwandawiro Mghanga
Nairobi, Ijumaa, Mei 22, 2015

5. Foreign military bases in Eastern Africa and Great Lakes region

Imperialist military presence in the region is for imperialist interests and not that of the African people. They are part and parcel of insecurity in the continent. Therefore they must not be allowed in independent Africa. It is betrayal by leaders and states to collaborate with imperialist's security forces and agents in the region against the African people. Are African military and security forces allowed to operate in the USA and Europe? How can foreign secret police and other security forces be allowed to arrest, interrogate, torture and abduct to their country or foreign countries African citizens from their own countries with the connivance of the national security forces of African countries? Who will trust their security on such states? Are not these also conditions for terrorism and insecurity?

African militaries should intervene in other African countries only to stop genocide and gross violations of human rights but not to loot their resources or help dictators survive at the expense of their people. Citizens of the countries should be allowed to exercise their right to use all means possible—including violence—to win for their democratic, constitutional and human rights and national sovereignty.

STATEMENT ON THE STATE OF INSECURITY IN KENYA

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
2 December 2014

For the umpteenth time, the Social Democratic Party of Kenya is demanding for concrete action from the Jubilee Government, with respect to ensuring the physical and psychological safety of every citizen of this country.

The SDP has in past statements demanded for the removal of all the top internal Security chiefs, and the restructuring of the country's security organs so that we can have people who understand, and can act on the needs of Kenyans, in matters of Security.

The SDP has in the past demanded that the Security agencies put their priorities in order, and ensure the security of every Kenyan, rather than over-securing state officials, and under-securing the population.

The SDP has in the past repeatedly asked that the National Intelligence Service (NIS) be taken seriously by the other Security agencies, and that on its part, it should cease spying and eavesdropping on progressive Politicians and patriots who dedicate their lives to bettering this country, and instead concentrate their resources on criminals and terrorists who are now operating freely.

The SDP has also in the past stated that the fight against terrorism, just like any other crime, can only be won by eradicating corruption, use of intelligence, working with the masses, and improving the livelihood of the people through creation of jobs, lowering the cost of living and implementation of Article 43 of our constitution.

Millions of concerned Kenyans have made similar and other demands through petitions to State organs, and through statements in the media & Social Media, but no action (other than the resignation/removal of Maj-Gen Michael Gichangi) has been taken.

It seems like the Ethnic political arithmetic for the General Elections of 2017 is more important to the Jubilee government, that sacking Cabinet Secretary Joseph Ole Lenku (who is too incompetent to perform, and too heartless to resign) is not an option. The same applies to the Inspector General of Police, Mr. David Kimaiyo, whose political expediency is what the Jubilee Government (with its majority numbers in Parliament) really cares about.

The Head of State, and His Deputy have resorted to sending condolences to victims, and giving stern warnings to terrorists, while the situation continues to deteriorate.

Recently, they have found new excuses in the form of "Radicalisation" of the youths, and the "responsibility of the citizens to protect themselves."

They have not told us, (let alone explained) what this radicalisation actually entails, neither have we seen any meaningful successful convictions of those arrested. We have instead seen nonsensical show of might, where hundreds of police men and women waste their time and skills barricading some mosque for weeks, instead of infiltrating terrorist groups and unearthing any illegal activities that may be planned therein. Isn't it obvious to them that if indeed in those mosques there were groups planning terror attacks, then they have since the closure, relocated to another venue? Could it be that the Government has another agenda other that "fighting terrorism?"

When the President says that security begins with the individual, how does he expect Kenyans to work with the Security agents, when the police keep on harassing the unemployed youths in the name of fighting crime?

How does the National Government expect the ordinary mwananchi to give information to the Police, when it ignores/dismisses intelligence information from a democratically elected Governor?

How can Kenyans trust the Government, when the Deputy President smiles before a press conference and lies about the killing of 100 Al-Shabaab terrorists?

The Jubilee Government keeps on giving us statistics of how the police service is out-numbered by the population, yet every night, there are hundreds of police men & women manning Alcoblow road blocks, where all they care about is how many drinkers they can arrest, and how much bribes they can raise, with absolutely zero concern on whether these cars could be carrying weapons and bombs. The same replays during the day, with the speed limit road blocks where it is all about raising money, rather than ensuring security. A perfect case of misplaced priorities.

Whereas the rank and file soldiers, together with the junior KDF officers continue to risk their lives in the line of duty in Somalia, we no longer receive any progress reports on what is happening on the ground; the only reliable reports that Kenyans are getting is of how the top echelons of KDF Commanders are colluding with the Al-Shabaab terrorists in the deforestation and selling of charcoal in Kismayu.

Conclusion

Even though we understand that terrorists can attack anywhere anytime, President Uhuru Kenyatta must know that in the final analysis, the buck stops with him, and he is responsible

for all the avoidable insecurity and terrorist activities that this country is facing. The fact that he continues to allow a dysfunctional security system to exist when he can get rid of it is just but an example of his role in promoting terrorism in Kenya.

The Government must also know that collaborating with imperialist western intelligence agencies like the CIA, Mossad and MI6 to fight terrorism, which they themselves have created, is actually counter-productive and will only worsen the situation.

Kenyans should also know that with a Capitalist Government and State like we have now, it is only when the elites and their investments are attacked that the Government really cares. That is why little action is taken when the masses are killed left, right and centre.

The only long-term solution is by having a Socialist Government and State, which anchors itself /is responsible to the masses of the people, and not the owners/controllers of capital.

The SDP expresses its most heartfelt condolences to the families and relatives of all the hard-working Kenyans who have lost their lives in Mandera, and other places, due to these senseless terrorist attacks.

REMEMBERING THE HISTORY OF STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTIONARY STRENGTH TO FORGE AHEAD

Mwandawito Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
11 September 2021

Even as we continue with the struggle for social and national liberation, it is always important to remember the history of our struggle, the commitments we made, the battles we fought, the challenges we faced, our achievements hitherto and to pay homage to our comrades—the heroes of the struggle—who fell along the way. Then we gain strength and stand to consolidate the gains of our struggle hitherto. This provides us with hope and the renewed vigour of forging ahead. This is because the struggle is not yet over but continues and must continue until our country, world, and humanity is liberated from capitalism, imperialism, and all systems of exploitation and oppression of person by person.

We remember that when foreigners invaded our country many centuries ago to colonise our country, starting with the Arabs and then the Portuguese, our patriotic heroes did not submit and surrender. Rather they always resisted defending our dignity as human beings, as Africans, and the right to freedom and nationhood.

The invasion and foreign domination of Arabs and Portuguese met the determined resistance of our patriots and heroes at the coast of Kenya. Our ancestors resisted by all means at their disposal. Resistance was not on a silver platter. It meant determination, commitment, hard work of organising and mobilising, taking risks, arming themselves, and engaging the enemies in ideological contests and armed combat. This

demanded courage and calculated bravery, resilience, and sacrifices for the cause.

But not all of our forefathers and mothers were ready to volunteer to engage in the struggle or to be at the forefront. As matter of fact, not everyone was in the resistance struggle. It was only the best among them, those with high human values, the patriots and revolutionary heroes, who moved to the frontline to courageously lead the resistance struggle. Many were afraid of being at the forefront of the struggle or even participating in it. They were afraid of the risks involved that included torture, imprisonment, and death. Worse still, others even sold their souls to the enemies and became traitors of the resistance struggle against their people and freedom. They openly or in secret moved to the side of the enemies of our country and people for being cowards and for purely narrow, parochial, and selfish interests. But the heroes of the resistance struggled on knowing that the resistance was for the interest of all our people that were invaded and dominated by the foreign invaders and occupiers, including the cowards and traitors themselves.

The heroes of the resistance paid huge prices for their heroic actions. They were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, exiled, and persecuted in many ways. They paid heavy prices indeed, including with their flesh and blood. Despite all this, they sustained the resistance for centuries. They identified the problem then and took the actions of implementing their historical determined acts. This is why we remember them and refer to them as peoples' heroes. Because of their patriotic and heroic deeds, today we celebrate them proudly and the fact that thanks to them our people have a rich and proud history of resisting foreign domination. So the sacrifices made by the patriots and heroes then were not in vain.

When British colonialism invaded our country starting from about 1885, it met resistance from patriots of the various ethnic groups of our country. At the time, a united Kenya did not exist. However, various nationalities lived in this country in various geographical locations we now call the Republic of Kenya. Wherever the colonialists went they were resisted culturally, politically, and militarily by patriots of the various ethnic groups. Their presence, religion, culture, government, occupation, and propaganda was resisted throughout the country. Colonialists and colonialism were never welcomed anywhere in our country. Rather it was imposed through colonial tricks, state terrorism, and Christian religious cultural propaganda and violence. Yet it took about thirty-five years before the British succeeded to defeat our forefathers' and mothers' resistance to establish the unpopular colonial state in 1920 that made Kenya a British colony.

The British succeeded to colonise Kenya because they had superior weapons and state power and also because Kenya was then composed of an amalgamation of diverse ethnic groups that resisted colonialism each alone in its geographical location and ethnic cocoons. In fighting to establish colonialism in Kenya the British employed the tactics of divide and rule. But by the time colonialism was established in the country, Kenya composed of various ethnic groups was transformed into the nation we call Kenya today.

The establishment of British colonialism in Kenya did not mean the end of the resistance struggle of the Kenyan patriots. Neither did it mean that Kenyan patriots had given in to the colonial state and surrendered their nationhood to the foreign occupation. On the contrary, the British were always reminded by the conscious resistance and struggle of Kenyans that Kenya

belonged to Africans who would never accept colonialism or foreigners ruled forever.

The resistance and struggle of Kenyan patriots against colonialism took various forms. Kenyans rebelled against paying taxes to the colonial government. They also resisted forced labour including that of the building of the Uganda Railway as Kenya Railway was called then. In the names of their ancestral religions and cultures, they refused to be converted to Christianity and to be brainwashed to abandon their languages and cultures through colonial education. They resisted being made to carry colonial passes—vipande—that humiliated the Black people and their freedom of movement, assembly, and association in their own country. They rebelled against colonial laws. They resisted working for White settlers who had stolen their lands and who always practiced racism and apartheid. They resisted being made to believe that the White people are superior to the Black people. At no time was colonialism allowed to be imposed and exist peacefully in our country.

From 1920 to the middle of the 1940s Kenyans resisted colonialism through somewhat peaceful means including worker's strikes, street demonstrations in urban and rural areas, and petitions to the colonial authorities in Kenya and Britain. However, the peaceful resistance was always suppressed violently by the brutal and arrogant British colonial state machine. Kenyans were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, exiled, humiliated, shot, and killed for demanding their human rights, freedom, and independence peacefully. Kenyans kept on learning that the colonial government, constitution, laws, police, army, prisons, democracy, and religion were all instruments of the colonial state machine of terror, coercion, and violence of imposing colonialism upon Kenyans.

It was becoming clearer and clearer to the exploited and oppressed Kenyans that they would never win their freedom and national independence through peaceful means or through only lamenting about the harsh conditions imposed upon them, praying and pleading for mercy from the merciless colonial oppressors. Gradually they came to learn that freedom needed the determined unity of all oppressed Kenyans and deliberate organisation for political and military action whose ultimate objective was to capture state power from the colonialists. In fact, towards the end of the 1940s Kenyan patriots were organising military actions against the colonial state and all it stood for. The Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau) and Movement had been organized, established, and began the war of national liberation.

The war of national liberation was hard, long, and protracted and demanded a lot of sacrifices from patriots and the masses of workers and peasants in rural and urban areas. Organising and mobilising people and resources for the Mau Mau was hard and dangerous but necessary work that had to be done by the leaders at whatever cost. Often many militants were arrested by the enemy and were tortured during the interrogations, detained, and executed.

Living in the forests of Aberdares and Mount Kenya meant enduring hunger, cold weather, loneliness, and threats from dangerous wild animals. Underground struggle demanded in rural and urban areas involved taking risks of arrests, torture, imprisonment, and arbitrary execution by the enemy. Then there was the oppression organized by the colonial state of punishing entire villages that were turned into fascist-like detention camps and torture prisons of large populations, especially in Central Province. It was never easy for the patriots who offered themselves as soldiers of the peoples' national liberation war and

movement that was fought for about ten years until around 1960 when the British were forced to surrender and give in and Kenya gained national independence. The national independence was won by the sacrifices of the flesh and blood of our ancestors who today we remember proudly as Kenya's national heroes.

But, of course, not all Kenyans fought for independence. Not all were patriots. Some were on the side of the colonial exploiters and oppressors. Many colonial chiefs collaborated with colonialism as also many Christian church leaders. There were even Kenyans who were employed in the colonial civil service, police, secret police, prison guards, army and served the colonial system with great vigour and enthusiasm—against the freedom fighters and the masses! During the struggle against colonialism they acted as propaganda machines of the colonialists preaching the ideology of defeatism that colonialism was insurmountable and would rule Kenya forever. They cheated that it was futile to struggle for national independence. The collaborators were used like colonial dogs to hunt and capture freedom fighters. They tortured and murdered their fellow Africans for the colonialists. Yet, when British colonialism was inevitably defeated and Kenya became an independent country, it was not only the patriots that won freedom but all Kenyans including the traitors and collaborators. For history has shown that the liberation struggle liberates both the patriots and the traitors, the oppressed and the oppressors! However, today we are proud of the freedom fighters while we despise those who collaborated with colonialism.

British colonialism was replaced by neocolonialism. This meant that after 1963 Kenya was opened for exploitation by world imperialism spearheaded by Western imperialism of the United States of America, Europe, Canada, and Japan. The Kenyatta-KANU regime that took over the leadership of the

country from the British perpetuated the status quo of colonialism. They inherited and maintained the colonial state intact. They used the same constitution, laws, government, policies, army, police, prisons, democracy, culture, and education system almost intact to impose the capitalist system that was brought into the country by colonialism. The Kenyatta-KANU regime joined colonialism and imperialism to exploit and oppress the Kenyan masses and by so doing to also perpetuate the capitalist culture of land grabbing, tribalism, greed, dictatorship, and all forms of exploitation and oppression of person by person. They not only ignored or suppressed the patriotic and liberation spirit of the freedom fighters and crushed the Mau Mau movement and ideology, but they also used the state to violate the democratic and human rights of the Kenyan patriots and masses.

Fortunately, Kenyan patriots and masses did not stop resisting and struggling for their freedom and liberation just because Black Kenyans led by Kenyatta-KANU had taken over power from the White oppressors. On the contrary, throughout the time of the Kenyatta regime, there were protests, resistances, struggles, and oppositions by patriots that demanded democracy, human rights, and the end of tribalism, nepotism, dictatorship, land grabbing, corruption, capitalism, and imperialism. The Kenyatta and successive KANU regimes maintained themselves in power through practicing tribalism, arresting, detaining, imprisoning, and assassinating patriots and all forms of opposition. Still, this did not kill the opposition. Neither did it succeed in making the patriots and masses of Kenyans surrender to the neocolonial capitalist regimes.

The Kenyatta-KANU and the successive regimes were supported not only by the former colonialists but also by the same

people who had served British colonialism in various ways and capacities and the newly recruited collaborators who formed the few capitalist elites, tribal bigots, and opportunists who were motivated by personal aggrandisements, narrow and parochial interests. Those people had lost their humanity to become slaves of the reactionary government and state motivated by the desire to accumulate wealth from bureaucratic capitalism and other forms of primitive accumulation.

The Moi-KANU regime that succeeded that of Kenyatta-KANU continued with the exploitation, oppression, repression, and betrayal of the majority of Kenyans. Only that it became even worse than its predecessor. At the same time, the resistance of the patriots and masses grew with time. The one-party dictatorship that was implemented through the amendment of the colonialist inherited constitution had become akin to fascism. All opposition was banned and detentions without trial, imprisonment through kangaroo courts, torture, and political assassinations were the order of the day.

However, even the Moi-KANU regime with all its fascism against the Kenyan people failed to silence the voice of Kenyan patriots that fought for democratic and progressive reforms both overtly and covertly. The patriots and revolutionaries made great sacrifices in the process of the struggle which included being denied the right of citizenship, employment, torture, exile, and all manner of persecutions including political assassinations.

Some patriots of those days are still in the struggle while others have either joined the exploiters and oppressors of today or retired and are observing the continuing struggle from afar. Still, others have joined the political parties of the reactionary ruling class where they are lavishly paid or rewarded for defending the present status quo of capitalism. Others have been

recruited by the numerous NGOs funded by imperialist governments whose motive is to either make Kenyan citizens struggle for reforms within the capitalist system and to avoid revolutionary struggle whose objective is to replace capitalism and imperialism with socialism. Others have turned into cynics who only watch, criticize and laugh at from afar those continuing with the struggle today. Some among them have written or are writing autobiographies about their contribution to the struggle yesterday while refusing to acknowledge that the struggle is far from over. But at least they made their contributions to the struggle yesterday.

History continues to reveal that not all travel the journey of the struggle for freedom and liberation until the end. Some transform from being patriots of yesterday to become traitors on the way while others become exhausted for lack of hope and simply give up. But the revolutionaries never give up. Instead, they proceed with the journey towards the freedom and liberation of humanity throughout their lives. And so the struggle for national and social liberation of Kenya, Africa, and the world ultimately culminating into socialism and communism that today is spearheaded by CPK continues and, inevitably must continue.

Many comrades were in the struggle with us. Together we struggled in student politics and also in the covert underground 'December Twelfth Movement' and M'wakenya' and are not alive today. Some were tortured to death. Others died in prison or exile or as a consequence of the psychological and physical injuries they suffered from the various persecutions perpetrated upon them by the Moi-KANU regime. I will always love and cherish these comrades as peoples' heroes. These include the following: Karimi Nduthu, Ngugi Gupta, Mwakudua Ringoma Mwachofi, Muhoro Githirwa, Adhu Awiti, Mzee Mbewa, Kariuki Gathitu,

Mwamba Shete, Njuguna Mutahi, Kaara Macharia, Peter Young Kihara, Kariuki Gathitu, Jimmy Mturukana, David Onyango Oloo, Kahuha from Kiambaa, Gerald Mghanga, Wahome Mutahi, Egadwa Maragoli, Jazrae Ndawiro, Mwanyama Shadrack, Odindo Opiata, Oyangi Mbajs, Simon Gicheha, Kinywa wa Nyeri, Gibson Maina Karanja, Gitau wa Muimoto, Ojijo of Gem, to mention but a few.

Our struggle was not in vain. Our heroes did not suffer arrest, torture, detention, imprisonment, all manner of persecution, and death for nothing. Through their contributions, we achieved democratic and progressive reforms, including multi-partyism, enhanced human rights, and the 2010 constitution.

When we organised and struggled underground and distributed the then proscribed 'Pambana' and 'Mwakenya' leaflets we were mocked, cursed, and hunted like wild animals. Then it was seen as a crime to fight dictatorship in the form of KANU and a one-party system. What is important to remember is that the leaders of the political parties of the ruling class popularized by the national intelligence services, the press, and the state, Kalozo Musyoka, Musalia Mudavadi, Gideon Moi, Moses Wetangula, Uhuru Kenyatta, and many around Raila Odinga, and also third President of Kenya Mwai Kibaki, all considered us as dangerous criminals who deserved to be arrested, tortured and imprisoned. They were cowards, opportunists, and sycophants of the Moi KANU dictatorship who condemned us for demanding democratic reforms, including multi-partyism and human rights. But we were not discouraged. Instead, we struggled despite the persecutions we underwent while believing that we were engaged in the just struggle that as patriots and revolutionaries could not afford to abscond. The revolutionary struggle that was hard, long, and protracted was

just and historically inevitable and worth the sacrifice we made. We were struggling not only to liberate the exploited and oppressed but also the whole Kenyan society that includes the exploiters and oppressors themselves.

We were proved right. Towards the end of the 1980s, the Moi-KANU dictatorship was engulfing the whole society including his friends, tribesmen, religious leaders, business partners, and members of his class and politics party of KANU. Those who had been condemning and persecuting us came to agree that we were right in opposing the dictatorship and demanding democratic reforms. They agreed with us that there was the need to have multiparty democracy, human rights, and constitutional reforms. Today none of the leaders of the political parties of the press and the ruling class would wish or accept the return of one political party system or the era of blatant dictatorship.

Yet, while we celebrate the political reforms we have achieved hitherto and are committed to consolidating them, still we continue with the struggle. For, unlike other political parties, coalitions, and formations, we the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) are communist revolutionaries. And although as communist revolutionaries we have fought for the reforms and still support the struggle for more progressive reforms that will better the welfare of the masses of Kenyans even within the present neocolonial capitalist system, we at the same time do not believe or accept that the reforms are an end in themselves. Neither do we believe or agree that the struggle is over.

CPK's vision and mission are to remove the capitalist system and replace it with a higher and inevitable socio-political-economic system—socialism. So we continue with the struggle against corruption, inequality, poverty, backwardness, primitive

accumulation, tribalism, gender inequality, all forms of discrimination and marginalisation of communities and individuals, and the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person. We demand land reforms that will provide land to all Kenyans who need it based on the principle of land to the tillers. We fight for wealth sharing and distributive justice that will ensure that all citizens and all who live in the country participate in creating the wealth from the natural, human, and other resources of the country and accruing direct and indirect benefits thereof equitably. In summary, CPK is engaged in the struggle for socialism.

Looking back in history and the achievements we have made hitherto, we are sure that however hard and protracted the struggle for socialism appears, it will inevitably and of necessity come to be. This is because we do not and must not sleep. Rather we continue to organize and mobilize for socialism every day. And the objective conditions in Kenya and the world point to the truth that capitalism has failed to resolve the numerous problems and contradictions facing humanity today. It will inevitably be replaced by socialism.

SOCIALISM THEORY AND PRACTISE: ON APPLICATION OF THE METHODOLOGY OF HISTORICAL MATERIALISM IN THE STUDY OF CULTURE AND LAND MATTERS

Mwandawiro Mganga, National Chairperson - CPK
10 March 2021

Introduction

This essay is an excerpt from a Masters' degree thesis on development studies. CPK is in the process of training cadres from the Marxist study circles that we organize throughout the country. This essay is meant to contribute to the discussion on the application of the methodology of historical materialism to the study and comprehension of social and natural phenomena.

1. Historical Materialism: The Basic Theory and Philosophy Applied in the CPK Marxism Study Circles

In this section, I will introduce, briefly, the key issues and concepts that form the theoretical framework of the research and analysis in the dissertation. The definitions themselves are based on the realisation that comprehending a problem or situation is to see it from its material base that ultimately determines it and within a time or historical perspective, how it has arisen and how it has come to be what it is. Furthermore, neither natural nor social phenomena are static or exist in isolation. While individual properties of matter and life should always be considered, it is in their dynamism and interconnectedness that form the basis of their existence and of analysing and understanding them in social and natural reality. Thus for example while:

> *"agriculture was considered a threat to nature and vice versa; naturalists were seen as lobbying against agricultural production. Today, there is growing recognition that food security and the*

conservation and sustainable utilisation of agricultural diversity are inextricably linked" (RAFI, 1997:iv).

Havnevik, (2001:74) corroborates this as follows:

"Agricultural production has an effect on the ecological system and biological diversity; the quality of water, air, and soil; the wellbeing of our domestic animals. It shapes the landscape and creates employment opportunities. These products and services can have positive and negative impacts and in this way can either contribute to improving or spoiling the environment, food security, biological diversity, sustainability, and social and cultural heritage."

It is this general theoretical approach, which is also based on the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism (Lenin, 1975:44-48; Marx & Engels, 1968: Chapter 1; Mao, 1977:1-22 & 155-158; Berbeshkina, Yakovleva & Zerkin:1985) that I apply in the definitions of the major concepts in the study presented in this thesis. Marx summarised the methodology of historical materialism in the following words:

"The general conclusion which I arrived at and which, once reached became the guiding principle of my studies can be summarized as follows. In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structures of society, the real foundations on which there arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, it is their social being that determines their consciousness" (Marx, 1976:3).

Engels (1979:243) elaborates this as follows:

> *"The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production (of the means of human life) and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and a society divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view, the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into external truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in philosophy but in the economics of each particular epoch".*

Using historical materialism, I will now attempt to provide a broad definition of culture, land tenure, and the related issues that form the subject of this study.

2. Definition of Culture

Culture is made by human beings in society. Culture broadly means all that has been created by human beings as distinguished from that human beings find in nature (Berbeshkina, Yakovleva & Zerkin, ibid.171). It is about life and society, history on earth, land. All human activities and impacts that manifest the presence of human beings, their works and the changes they make upon nature are inherent in culture. This means that in the process of producing their material needs, food, shelter, clothes, etc., people create and recreate culture. In other words, in the struggle for survival, freedom and development, which is in fact the increasing ability to make a living from nature, human beings are ever engaged in the activities of producing and reproducing material culture. And while producing material culture they, simultaneously, produce their intellectual culture. Intellectual culture here refers to the manifestation of peoples' consciousness of nature and society. Intellectual culture is the historical achievements of people in science, education, literature and art.

It is about the morals, customs, philosophy, values and relations of the people in a particular society, time and place. Intellectual culture is also embodied and expressed by language that also contains and manifests the psychology of a people.

While historical materialism recognises that material and intellectual cultures exist relatively independently to one another, it at the same time emphasises that they can never exist in isolation. Material and intellectual cultures are organically linked, "with intellectual culture being secondary and relatively independent but developing in organic unity with material culture" (Berbeshkina, Yakovleva & Zerkin, ibid.:175). In other words, intellectual culture is not only a reflection of material culture but is also dialectically related to it, with material culture being the structure and intellectual culture being the superstructure. Although material culture is the basis of intellectual culture, not only has intellectual culture its own identity but it also influences the development of material culture. Cabral (1980:141) explains this by pointing out "the close, dependent and reciprocal connection between the *cultural factor* and the *economic* (and political) *factor* in the behaviour of human societies"

> *"In fact, after every moment of life of society (open or closed), culture is the result, with more or less awakened consciousness, of economic and political activities, the more or less dynamic expression of the type of relations prevailing within society, on the one hand between man (considered individually or collectively) and nature, and, on the other hand, among individuals, social strata or classes (ibid.)".*

Culture can therefore also be defined as the sum total of material and intellectual achievements of a society constituting its cultural traditions and that forms the reflection and basis for further development and progress (Odiwuor, 2000:31). It is an embodiment of a definite mode of production at a definite

material and historical time and place. Culture is a reflection of a specific society within a specific mode of production. It expresses the material being and the social relations inherent in a particular mode. The study of culture is therefore also the study of the history of the people of the culture concerned.

Furthermore, since society has always been divided into classes in all other modes of production other than various stages of communal mode, culture also manifests the class divisions at all times. Always in history, it has been the masses that have been the backbone of producing culture—especially material culture—but it is always the members of the ruling class who control the means of production and political power, who eat and enjoy the best and most of the fruits of culture. The exploiters and the exploited can never enjoy equal rights to culture at the same time and place.

3. Culture, Land and Agricultural Biodiversity

Throughout history, land, whether cultivated or uncultivated, has been the most important natural resource, property and the basic means of production of people's livelihoods, wealth and hence material and intellectual cultures. It is for this reason that land as the basic natural resource (Hart & Castro, 2000) has also been contested, being behind many major causes of conflicts in history, whether violent or non-violent (Gutto, 1995:3-22; Fernandez, 1998:21). That is also why land issues, whether concerning access, tenure, use, rights, management, conflict and conflict resolutions, are complex and embrace political, economic, social and cultural dynamics of societies (Gutto, ibid.:25-26; Kanyinga, ibid.:7; Amanour, 1999:10; Havnevik, 1997:7-9; Matondi 1977:27-32).

When human beings engage in activities of working on land to breed plants and animals, they are in the process of producing

and reproducing agricultural biodiversity which, is part of their farming culture that is inherited, conserved and developed from generation to generation. When they get their livelihoods directly from nature then they depend on biological diversity, also known as biodiversty. Biodiversity is the 'diversity of life on earth' (The Crucible II Group ibid.:1) which, besides being the life-support system of the earth, also provides the genetic raw material not only for plant and animal breeding but also of new biotechnologies (RAFI, ibid.:5). Agricultural biodiversity is "that part of biodiversity *that feeds and nurtures people*—whether it is derived from genetic resources of plants, animals, fish or forests" (RAFI, ibid.1). In the context of my research and study, I was concerned with, mainly, the varieties of crop types found in the land tenure and farming culture in Werugha Sub-Location before and after the land reforms. Notwithstanding this, the erosion of the environment and therefore that of biodiversity, be it through natural or human causes, has, as I have observed, direct and indirect impacts on agricultural biodiversity and the livelihoods of the people. For culture, in this regard, is the relationship between human beings and nature. Biological and cultural erosion arising from the vagaries of nature is hard to avoid, and furthermore nature ultimately deals with it in one way or the other. But that which is caused by human beings for whatever reason, as RAFI (ibid.), The Crucible II Group (ibid.) and Mooney (2001 and 1997) strongly contend, can and should be avoided. Interfering with and destroying indigenous resource tenure institutions and farming systems without comprehending their historical, social and ecological contexts, as the land tenure 'reforms' did in Taita Hills (Mkangi, 1983; Mwachofi, 1977, Fleuret, ibid.), are likely to cause adverse impacts on biological diversity, agricultural biodiversity and the culture thereof. All

this, in turn, has implications on the food security and livelihoods of the people.

4. Culture and Indigenous Knowledge

All societies in the world have always struggled to increase their knowledge of the laws that govern nature to improve their productive forces and means of production[1] in order to make a better living from nature. It follows, therefore, that all peoples must have produced a culture of their own, to a lesser or greater degree respectively, depending on the historical, environmental and other material conditions that exist at a particular place and time. In fact, a people's culture is their way of living that provides them with their own identity (Odiwuor, 2000:31). And while productive forces and means of production develop and change quantitatively and qualitatively, culture also develops and changes accordingly. Like matter, culture is never static but is always in continuous motion and change.

Thus, during their struggles for survival and development, all societies accumulate various experiences over time, indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is an embodiment, a reflection and an expression of the culture of the people concerned. As a matter of fact, I reiterate, all peoples have made a contribution to the process of production and conservation of culture, including agricultural biodiversity, which is necessary to human progress and survival. All peoples in the world have something to offer to human knowledge that is part of the invaluable cultural diversity that is being eroded at an alarming

[1] The means of and the people who set them in motion through their skills, experience and knowledge are called productive forces of society… All that people use to produce material benefits, be it work implements (machines, mechanisms, instruments), auxiliary means (industrial premises, roads, canals, energy, fuel, chemicals), or objects of labour (ores, timber, plastics), constitute the means of production" (Berbeshkina, Yakovleva & Zerkin, ibid.:51).

rate (Mooney, 2001:13-18; The Crucible II Group, ibid.9-10). History has proved that ignoring these facts in the name of science, technology, modernisation, privatisation, prejudices against other peoples, etc., are harmful to life on earth. It often leads to the erosion of the environment, agricultural diversity, livelihoods, social justice and human rights (Mooney, 1997 and 2001:9-22).

5. Culture and Colonialism

To appreciate the question of culture and the current socio-economic issues in Africa, one must recognise the reality of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and accept the full implications of the recognition (Thiong'o, 1983). Historically, wanton plunder of natural resources, prejudices against indigenous knowledge and the erosion and destruction of the cultures of the colonised peoples, including their agricultural systems and diversity, was inherent in colonialism. That is why many of the problems in Africa and other 'developing' countries, including environmental degradation, food insecurity and erosion of livelihoods are rooted in colonialism (Lappe and Collins, 1977:75-90; Timberlake, 1985; George and Paige, 1982; Sankara, 1988:155). Writing on the role of culture in the struggle for national liberation Cabral (ibid.:139-140) explains:

> *"History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination on a people. But it like wise teaches us that, whatever the material aspects of this domination, it can be maintained only by the permanent and organised repression of cultural life of the people concerned. Implantation of domination can be ensured definitively only by physical elimination of a significant part of the population. In fact, to take up arms to dominate a people, is above all to take up arms to destroy or at least neutralize and paralyse their cultural life".*

Like other places in Africa and the world (Rodney: ibid.; Mlama:1991; Ajayi: ibid.), colonialism deliberately targeted for destruction the material and intellectual cultures of the Kenyan peoples, including that of the Dawida. While the missionaries concentrated in destroying indigenous knowledge and intellectual culture in general, they, at the same time collaborated with the colonial state and colonial settlers in physically oppressing and eliminating the people, alienating their land and labour and their material cultures based on agricultural production (Mwachofi, 1977:38-48; Mkangi, ibid.37-47; Mghanga, 1997:4).

To make the colonised people despise and forget their cultures is to deny them their historical heritage in order to control and dominate them. This is in fact what imperialism and Christianity did to the peoples' of the world under its domination. I agree with Cabral (ibid.) and Fanon (1967 and 1963) that as long as dominated people are made to believe that they had no history before the coming of colonialism, that they had not created any culture, and that their ways of life were primitive, sinful and barbaric, then their identity as a nation and as human beings is compromised. By denying the historical and cultural achievements of the African peoples, imperialism aims at destroying their personalities, it imbues them with inferiority complex, dependency and prevents them from realising their creative potentialities and being masters of their own natural and social environment and destiny.

But all this does not absolve the African and 'developing countries' themselves from the problems of underdevelopment in their countries. For the greatest tragedy today, that is the subject of my study, is that the same harmful colonial policies, including those on culture (Thiong'o, 1979, 1981 and 1983), land,

environment and agriculture (Gutto, ibid.:35-40) continued to be practised in most African countries today, and what is worse by the same governments that claim to be victims of colonial policies.

6. Culture and Land Tenure

Land tenure system, "the terms and conditions on which land is held and used" is a key embodiment of the culture of the society concerned (Birgegård, 1993:1). It is inherent in the mode of production of the society in which people develop definite social, economic and political relations in their definite environment and time in the process of working and procuring their livelihoods. In this regard, land tenure is the most important social and cultural institution in both past and present Dawida society. The change of a land tenure system, especially in a situation where agriculture is the basic source of livelihoods, inevitably brings about cultural change in the society concerned.

Apart from public and state land tenure systems in socialist countries (see for example, Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 1986:5-9), there are generally two land tenure systems in the world, communal and private, that contain various forms within themselves (Fernandez, ibid. 19). Quoting Hendricks, Fernandez (ibid. 21) observers:

> *"Land tenure does not exist in a vacuum. Particular forms of land holdings are intimately connected with different modes of social relations." Communal land ownership is not just a form of owning land, but also a way to produce and reproduce the peasantry. Thus, ownership itself is always attached to social subjects, constituting, as a form of agricultural social production, a socio-economic organisation. An agricultural community is, in this way, an institution organised under a form of communal, or semi-communal land ownership, whose multiple members are the land owners".*

As we shall see in section 4 where I shall attempt to describe traditional Dawida land tenure system, the term 'communal land tenure' is complex and should not be interpreted literally just as indigenous natural resource tenures in general should not be seen in a simplistic way or romanticised. Instead, attempts should always be made to examine the internal dynamics of specific indigenous land tenure systems of specific societies and cultures (Amanor, 1999:7-11; Bruce, 1988:24-26). This is in fact what this study attempts to do.

Communal land tenure in theory may mean common ownership, use and management of land and its resources but in practice in most African societies farming is usually done by individual families. It may also mean the right of each member of a group to use independently to the full extent of certain land belonging to the community, so called right of commons. This includes forests, pastures, wastelands, land set aside for traditional ceremonies, or special needs for the community, etc., but usually not arable land. Communal land tenure may also mean control of land, reflecting some group interests, over land that is set aside for use by individuals who are usually families belong to the group. The group may be extended family, lineage, clan village or tribe, which is usually based on common decent, common residence or a combination of the two principles. Furthermore, communal land tenure is about the community's expression of land where as in the case of the Dawida, individuals are constrained from selling land outside their group. The group right may be framed as property right or expressed in political and administrative terms (Bruce, ibid.:24-25; Engels, 1979:274-293; Marx, 1979:294-297). As the same authors (ibid.) show, since land tenure and farming systems do not exist in a vacuum but in nature and society, all land tenure systems including

private ones are communal to some extent. Given the fact that land is the basis of life on earth and that all human beings live on it, die on it and depend on it in one way or the other, land use, management and access is always inevitably influenced by the society to one degree or the other.

In general, in most rural Africa, acquiring and disposing of land continues to be determined by traditional land tenure systems even where there has been land tenure reforms leading to privatisation of land as in Kenya (Bruce, ibid.:23). As the same author explains (ibid.), the development of land tenure systems is conditioned by various factors that include local climate and ecology, the quality of the land resource, population density, level of agricultural technology, the crops grown, markets, kinship organisations, religious significance of land in the society concerned and pattern of ethnic conquest, dominance and rivalry.

Summary and Conclusion, My Hypothesis

Having said all this, it is important to conclude and summarise this chapter by restating my position based on historical materialism. Culture is always based on definite material conditions of a definite mode of production and, like society itself, is always dynamic and is never static. In this study I do not, therefore, romanticise indigenous land tenure or traditional knowledge or culture. For neither empiricism nor dogmatism produce real and useful knowledge but knowledge that arises from a dialectical relationship of practise and theory, experience and science, while solving definite problems in definite historical circumstances (Lenin, 1972; Mao, 1967:295-309). That is why, I advocate a critical attitude towards indigenous land tenure, farming systems and culture in general and that of the local communities in particularly based on the reality on the ground and the fact that change is the essence of

history and is not in itself necessarily destructive, as Ajayi (ibid.:160) puts it.

In this respect, I am not opposed to land tenure reforms and the introduction of new farming technologies if all this is meant to settle or resettle people, provide them with more access and right to land, increase agricultural production and generally improve their livelihoods while conserving the environment. My theoretical departing point is that land tenure reforms *should not destroy indigenous tenures and farming systems but should instead build upon them* (Birgegård, 1993). Furthermore, the land reforms introduced in Taita Hills both by the colonial and post-colonial governments were *not* about providing the people with more land in spite of the obvious need for it. Neither were they about redistributive justice as advocated by Gutto (1995). The land reforms were about changing the terms and conditions under which the Dawida held and used land, i.e., imposing a capitalist land tenure system upon that of the Dawida based on their communal culture, (Mkangi, ibid. and Mwachofi, ibid.).

The main theme of this study is cultural change in Dawida society in general and Werugha in particular. The sub-theme is land tenure reforms with focus on agricultural change. As we shall find out, the mode of production of traditional Dawida society upon which their way of life was based was what I refer to as *mature communalism* [2](Mghanga, 1997:2). The basic means

[2] In the thesis I coin the term *mature communalism* to describe the socio-economic relations of traditional Dawida society. Nyerere (1974:162-171) defines the same relations as *ujamaa* or familyhood while Amuta (1989:130) describes them as pre-literate communalism in reference to Ibo society which Achebe describes in his famous novels *Things Fall Apart* (1967) and *Arrow of God* (1964). Both societies described by Nyerere, Amuta and Achebe are basically similar to traditional Dawida society. But the social relations of communalism (see Popov-1984:58-62) were of complete equality while those of traditional Dawida society (and those described by Amuta and Nyerere)

of production was and still remains land and both the material and intellectual cultures of the Dawida revolves around agricultural production. Land in traditional Dawida society was owned by the community as whole but managed by individual families organised around patrilineal clan or lineage system. The culture of traditional Dawida society was an embodiment and reflection of this reality. Land tenure reforms that change the indigenous land tenure to private land tenure is likely to change the values or morals and ways of life of the people, what and how they produce for their livelihoods, how they relate to one another and to nature in the process of production, in short their culture. This is my theoretical point of departure and hypothesis.

It appears to me that this article is good in bringing out the theoretical approach to analysing the land question in Weruga, it does not in my view provide a concrete way forward for African communities and CPK revolutionaries. True, it provides material for theoretical spurring in academic circles, but how do revolutionaries use it to deal with practical questions on land in the masses?

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were beginning to show signs of class divisions. Historically and culturally, mature communalism was thousands of years ahead of first stages of communalism mode where people had hardly developed tools and wer by b… [note cuts off—*Ed*.]

CHILD CARE – THE STATE'S RESPONSIBILITY?

Zarina Patel, Secretary for Gender Affairs - SDP
21 January 2015

The recent TV footage that showed a Ugandan house help beating and traumatising a three-year-old child who had been left in her care has shocked us all. Women, men, young and old, child carers and social welfare activists are all holding their breath. Mothers and fathers, are not just shocked but seriously alarmed. Why? Did they really think this could never happen? Of course they were aware of the possibility so is it then a matter of degree? In our capitalist society child care is considered a private family matter so a wise parent then takes the best possible precautions. And as always it becomes a class question. The wealthy make sure that either the mother stays home to bring up her kids or leaves them daily in the care of a well accredited, and of course expensive, nursery where she can be fully assured that her children will come to no harm whatsoever. And if they ever did, lo and behold the fate of the nursery proprietor!

It is the middle- and working-class parents (the majority) who have to agonise over a tricky act trying to balance the family budget. In order to offset the insufficient family income, should the mother go out to work and leave her tender babies in the care of an affordable, and therefore untrained, unaccredited carer; and keep her fingers crossed? Many parents try to avoid this anxiety by enlisting the help of a young relative who is plucked from mashambani and whose parents are too poor to give their child the education he/she deserves. Can you imagine what it is like for that deprived relative to toil ten hours (maybe longer) every day to care for another person's child (or children) who is at least going to school and getting a square meal? And of course not

every household is a paragon of happy, amicable friendship. Sexual harassment and physical abuse of house helps are rampant; but then these are all considered private problems in private spaces.

Yet these very same children are the future workers, parents and even leaders that will ensure the viability of the state and be expected to produce the wealth of the country. So doesn't the state have a responsibility to ensure that these children are cared for adequately from a very young age? The unfortunate Ugandan house help will of course be charged in court and imprisoned, this is not to justify or even condone what she did but to recognise that she may have had problems that deeply affected her, and that no-one, least of all the state, cares about. In any case, will her conviction solve the problem of child care for the people? Or will the struggling parent have to dig deeper into her/his pocket to buy a CCTV, unaffordable to the average household? And which will further damage their relationship with the house help; but, please note: will of course benefit the CCTV supplier and manufacturer. The capitalist always comes out on top!

Patriotism and a national Kenyan identity can only be nurtured when the Kenyan state is seen to truly care for, and serve, its citizens—ALL its citizens especially the most vulnerable ones. Child care is not, I repeat, NOT a private matter. And women should NOT be left to carry that burden and have to constantly worry about what could be happening at home—quite apart from the fact that no child or teenager should have to spend their most formative years as domestic house helps. In a country where we are building TATU estates, KONZA cities and a shopping mall designed to cover nine acres—surely it is a national shame and totally unacceptable that a very basic service such as child care is not provided to our population.

I am not envisioning the construction of a myriad of expensive crèches and nurseries staffed by Montessori trained teachers. Much simpler solutions can be devised if the political will is present AND if the community is consulted. Why can residents not be provided with a space and shelter, a teacher or two and the senior citizens in the area be involved in the care of the children. Yes, residents in an estate or community need to get together—not to spy on each other or to make money—but to plan together how they can best organize themselves for their own benefit. This calls for a radically different mindset which sees co-operation, not competition, as the way forward and quality of life and not the size of one's bank account as the bench mark.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA'S ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC POLICY: PUTTING THE ECONOMY IN THE HANDS OF THE MAJORITY

Gitahi Ngunyi, Secretary for Workers and Cooperatives - CPK
6 March 2021

What would Kenya look like economically if the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) won State power? That is a question that Party members, activists and revolutionaries encounter every day in the course of their work. That question is particularly relevant in the current stage of development of the country where it is clear the neo-colonial capitalist economic policies employed by the current Kenya's ruling elite have failed to end people's misery and economic backwardness and underdevelopment.

This question cannot be answered without first clarifying what is wrong with the current reactionary economic policies. To unpack the CPK economic alternative, we will therefore look at the problems of the neo-colonial economic policies and provide the solutions.

Means of production in the hands of a few. The first act of attack on the Kenyan people by capitalism was the grabbing of their land by the British Colonialists. All the land in Kenya was placed under the ownership of the British Monarch and placed under the management of the Imperial British East Africa Company Ltd. The Kenyan communities that previously owned the land communally or through their feudal lords as was the case in nation-states in the coastal areas of Kenya lost the most important means of production. All the productive land was placed in the hands of a few white colonialists and Kenyans were forced to work as wage earners in white owned farms and companies under deplorable conditions.

Fifty-eight years after independence, this economic injustice against the Kenyan people has never been rectified. Today, foreign multinationals and Kenyan political elites control the bulk of the productive land.

Currently, 28 percent of Kenyans or 12.6 million people are landless. 98 percent of Kenyans land owners are crammed up in small and uneconomical pieces of land with an average size of 1.2 hectares (ha) occupying 46 percent of the Kenyan land mass. 1.9 percent of the land owners own medium size pieces ranging between 10 and 60 ha. However, 0.1 percent of the land owners control 39 percent of Kenya's total land area.

This inequitable access to land by Kenyans is the biggest cause of extreme poverty, unemployment and under-employment in Kenya.

It therefore follows that there can be no sustainable solution to the problem of poverty in Kenya if the land question is not addressed with finality.

If CPK wins State power, land reforms will be the highest priority because of the potential it has to ending extreme poverty, creating massive employment and increasing production. The reform package would include appropriation/repossession of all idle and underdeveloped land owned by the foreign multinationals and the Kenyan bourgeoise which hoards without compensation.

Land appropriated by CPK government would be redistributed to farming groups, cooperatives, worker owned companies, or State corporations for the purpose of putting the land into immediate utilization in agricultural, mining, housing or manufacturing production.

This single action will pull millions of Kenyans from extreme poverty, spur rural development and increase employment to

millions of Kenyans currently languishing in urban squalor and rural poverty.

Export Driven

Kenya's economy was designed by the colonial to be a supplier of raw materials and markets to British multinationals. From the colonial times, Kenya has depended on export of agricultural products such as tea, coffee, cotton, hides and skins, livestock, to Europe and US.

While the thinking behind this imperialist approach to colonial economies was basically to sustain European economies at the expense of the colonies, neocolonial regimes have continued with the same approach based on the false argument that Kenya badly needs of foreign exchange to finance imports of commodities that it does not produce.

Because of this kind of neo-colonial approach to economic policies, the bulk of Kenya's productive land is under crops that serve European and American food needs. Land under food meant for domestic needs occupy the least part of the Kenyan land mass.

There are very clear consequences from this policy choice. First, in spite of the abundance of productive land, Kenya is listed as a food insecure country. This is a very embarrassing state and a paradox as well.

In other words, the same country producing coffee and tea consumed by hundreds of millions of people in the world cannot produce enough food for its domestic needs. Every time when there is a drought, thousands of Kenyans in both rural and urban areas starve to death because they have no food.

The second consequence is that the country has lost opportunities to industrialise based on the domestic food production and consumption needs. Instead, Kenya with its raw

exports continues to support the growth of European and American imperialism while its people continue to wallow in poverty and squalor. It is also because of these suicidal policy choices that we have a pattern of migration where Kenyans are leaving their country to look for jobs in Europe and US because the Kenyan economy is unable to provide employment to the majority of its people.

A CPK government would reverse this policy so that the bulk of Kenya land resources would be used to produce for local domestic needs. This would entail progressive reduction of land allocated to cash crops for food and cotton production to meet local food and textile demands. Such an approach will ensure that the country has enough food to meet the needs of its people.

In order to realise the full benefits of increased production, the CPK government would invest surplus into development of government owned light and heavy industries. The light industries would use the agricultural products to produce consumer goods to meet the local demands such as food products with longer shelf life, textile products and leather products. The heavy industries will produce equipment and machinery needed in agricultural production, light industry production and housing. Heavy investment in the development of government owned light and heavy industries will also mean that mining products such as iron ore, petroleum and titanium are used to create local jobs and increase national production instead of the current case where such mining resources support the growth of industrialization of foreign nations.

Through this policy approach, the CPK government will not only solve the chronic problem of textile and food shortages in the country, it will also increase employment through industrialization and spurred rural development.

Wastefulness

One of the outstanding characteristics of Kenyan economy is wastefulness. Wastage of human life or labour, wastage of production, and wastage of public funds.

Kenyan unemployed workers waste away in Kenyan slums and rural areas because the neo-colonial capitalist system must maintain high unemployment in order to maintain workers' wages low and cart away heavy profits. These workers cannot afford privatized medical services and privatized education for their children. They die of diseases such as Malaria and Cholera because their only value to the capitalist system is being used as an industrial reserve army to scare the employed workers against demanding better pay for their work.

A CPK government will end this cycle of human life wastage by expanding the productive forces in agriculture and manufacturing. To do this, the government will redistribute land resources so that people who are trapped in joblessness in urban and rural areas have a way of engaging in national production through agriculture. Further, those who are left out of employment in agriculture will be absorbed in the value chain developed through investments in light and heavy industries.

Wastage of production, particularly agricultural production, is as old as the post-colonial Kenya. In the current neo-colonial economic policy environment, production is driven by the profit motive or the market forces of demand and supply instead of the domestic needs. Therefore, when the prices of commodities fall because of unplanned supply or dumping of foreign products at cheaper prices, producers are left with commodities that they have no use for. Farmers are demotivated to continue with production, companies close down, workers are retrenched thus falling back to poverty and national production falls drastically.

A CPK government will end this wastage through central economic planning. This will mean that every production aspect will be aimed at meeting the particular consumption needs of the new Kenyan society. In essence, the amount of wheat produced in the country as well as other agricultural produce will be guided by the carefully analysed and understood consumption needs of the Kenyan society.

In the neo-colonial government, the State wastes public funds to maintain a heavily paid bureaucracy that only serves to suppress the interests of the poor, peasants and working class and promoting the Kenyan bourgeoisie and imperialism economic and political interests. From the Executive, the Judiciary, the Legislatures, what is visible is the orgy of huge salaries and privileges for people occupying the big positions in these offices. These huge salaries and privileges make the positions coveted in the country not because of the services they render to the Kenyan masses but because of the opportunities they provide to amass personal wealth. These high salaries and privileges contribute to the situation where people who put more time in production earn less and those that put less time in production earn more income. This wastage is a major contributory factor the high levels of inequalities in the country.

To deal with this kind of wastage, a CPK government would abolish the salary differentiation between workers engaged in productive activities and workers in government bureaucracy. To do this, the CPK government would cut the salaries of State officers to the level of average workers' wages and abolish the various privileges that go with such State offices such as car grants, mortgages and the hefty sitting allowances for government officials. By doing this, the CPK government will have transformed the positions of State officers from positions of

privilege to positions of service to humanity. By removing the privileges and the hefty perks, the government will make the positions less lucrative and therefore accessible to the working-class members who want to serve the workers interests in such positions.

National Debt

Kenya was founded on the debt and grants from the British Government to the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC). The debt allowed IBEAC and later colonial administration to set up an infrastructure and bureaucracy that would serve the extractive, exploitative and oppressive purposes.

The debt from the British government allowed IBEAC to acquire weapons which were used to grab land from Kenyan communities, build the railway line, lease the land to white settlers, force African natives into white owned farms as wage labourers, and set up prisons for dissidents across the country.

In other words, the illegitimate debt by the British government to the colonial administration were aimed at promoting British Imperialist interests in Kenya. That initial debt by the British government served to impoverish the native Africans while promoting the interests of British multinationals and white settlers.

The repayment of the loans during the colonial days was financed by the labour of native Africans who had been conscripted to work in white owned farms under deplorable conditions.

Fifty-eight years after independence, Kenya is still mired in the debt trap. Economic planners in the current neo-colonial Kenyan regime have been keen followers of the neoliberal policies and have been jumping from one international lender to another with the false belief that a poor, backward and

underdeveloped country like Kenya will become developed through debt.

According to the most current publicly available public records, Kenyans national debt had ballooned to Sh7 trillion by July 2020. Annual debt repayment according to Public Debt Management Report presented to parliament in September 2020 is currently at Sh651.4 billion. In other words, out of the Sh1.6 trillion collected in revenues by Kenya Revenue Authority last year, 40 percent went to pay off loans. The repayment for 2020 is more than double the amount allocated to the 47 counties in equitable share of national revenue. Last year, the total amount of funds allocated to county government as the share of equitable national revenue was Sh310 billion.

One does not have to be a prophet to see that the neo-colonial government has put the country into a dark hole where it is impossible to fathom any financing strategy for any meaningful or sustainable poverty eradication program. In fact, the treasury has given the first indication that the government will need to acquire more debt in order to finance its budget for 2021/2022.

A CPK government would get Kenya out of this debt trap. First, the CPK government would reject illegitimate debt imposed on Kenyans through corruption and greed. A lot of the debt in the national debt was incurred to facilitate fraud and corruption. People responsible for incurring such illegitimate debt would be put in jail and their property auctioned to repay it. Further, the government will declare a 15-year unilateral default on the debt tied to imperialism. At the same time, a CPK government would negotiate for debt moratorium with socialist States such as China and also seek further solidarity support in the country's endeavour to transform people's lives. This would save the country close to Sh400 billion a year and allow the

government to use its national revenues to increase production in agriculture, finance light and heavy industries as well as build and equip the social welfare infrastructure.

Privatization

Since independence, the successive neo-colonial capitalist regimes in Kenya have been on a drive to concentrate the country's natural resources and public services in the hands of a few people, mainly foreign multinationals and ruling elite.

To the ruling elite and their advisors from Western imperialist nation nations, public assets and corporation are judged not for the services and the goods they provide to the general public but on the basis of how much profit they make.

Public land including forest land, land set aside for research facilities, aviation land and industrial land has been sub-divided among the political and economic elite robbing the public of the benefits that would accrue from proper utilization of those assets for the purpose they were set aside for.

In the 1990's, with the backing of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the ruling elite set off on the biggest attack on public assets and services through privatization. State corporations that were providing essential services to the public such transportation (Kenya Airways, Kenya Railways, Kenya Bus Service), oil refining, electric power generation and distribution (Kengen, KPLC), banking (Kenya Commercial Bank, National Bank) and telecommunication (Safaricom) were placed in the hands of joint interests of multinationals and the local political and economic elite.

Because of the obsession with the profit motive, workers in the State corporations were retrenched to make the organisations attractive to private interests.

Further, an attack on public education and healthcare was orchestrated through the twin tactic of underfunding of public service institutions and an increase in commercial funding for private schools and healthcare facilities.

Currently, the onslaught on public service institutions has been taken a notch higher through funding of the operations of private universities from the exchequer and operations of the private hospitals from the national hospital insurance fund.

The total effect of the privatization drive is that it has pushed majority of Kenyans from accessing critical services such as transportation, health care and education. It has led to a situation where former State corporations are stripped off valuable assets to generate profits for the new owners before they are abandoned as empty shells.

A CPK government would put an end to this privatization and would also work to nationalize crucial public assets that have been put into private hands. To do this, the CPK government will increase funding to public service institution and monitor them effectively to ensure they offer the best service to the public. Further, the CPK government would annul the privatization act and disband the privatization commission. It would also annul the public private partnership act. To guide the process of getting back State assets from private hands, the CPK government would enact a nationalization act.

By carrying out these economic measures, the CPK government will be safeguarding workers jobs and ensuring public services are provided in the most efficient way and by the best human resources available. It will also be reducing the cost of living for the poor and thereby improving the quality of life for every Kenyan.

Conclusion

The alternative economic policies outlined above are revolutionary in nature and seek to put the management and benefits of the economic outputs in the hands of the majority. They are geared towards supporting the eradication of extreme poverty, expansion of the productive forces and improvement of the quality of life for the poor people, farmers and the working class.

They are based on the Party's understanding that neo-colonial capitalist policies have failed to end poverty in Kenya for the last 58 years. With the clarity on the main reasons of failures of capitalism, the policy choices by the party are aimed at transforming Kenya from a neo-colonial capitalist country to a socialist State.

LOOKING BACK, LOOKING AHEAD ON THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION OF KENYA: MYTHS, OPPORTUNITIES, AND PROBLEMS

Mwandawiro Mganga, National Chairperson - CPK

21 March 2021

Introduction: Demystifying Myths About the Constitution Through the Marxist Position on the State in General and the Constitution in Particular

Itikadi is about socialism, theory, and practice. That is why it is deliberately dedicated to demystifying the myths about history and society that for many years have been created and disseminated by the reactionary classes of exploiters and oppressors of Kenya and the world, consciously and unconsciously. The myths have been perpetuated to hoodwink the masses and distort the struggle for their liberation to conserve systems of exploitation and oppression of one class by another and person by person.

The Myth About the State and Constitution

Lenin (Lenin,1975:200; Lenin, 238-327) explained that no other concept has been deliberately mystified by bourgeoisie intellectuals and other previous reactionary classes and made to be misunderstood by whole societies than that of the state. Despite the practical reality that confronts them every day in the struggle against capital and myriad of existing forms of exploitation and oppression, the Kenyan masses too hardly comprehend the true meaning and nature of the state and assume that it is created for their welfare and that of every citizen in the country. They believe or have been made to believe that the state is always neutral and above classes and that if the constitution and the laws thereof were implemented equitably, justly, and objectively then all Kenyans would be liberated from the existing

injustices without prejudice. The same lies are currently being peddled by the reactionary regime in power led by President Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM leader Raila Odinga that the illegal and reactionary constitutional amendments made by the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) brought by their handshakes will be the panacea of Kenya's political, economic, social, nationality and cultural problems, even while the neocolonial capitalist system dominates in the country.

The Constitution Is Even More Mystical

For the constitution is even more mystical to the masses than any other instrument of the state. An embodiment of democracy—itself part and parcel of the form of the state (Marx, 1967; Lenin, ibid.,)—constitutions are made to seem as institutions, organs, or symbols of unity and creations of nation-states that form the cohesion of all citizens irrespective of their classes. Constitutions that are, among other things, the mother of all laws of a nation promise to provide justice and the rule of law to all citizens equitably, equally, objectively, and without discrimination or favour. Like the ongoing debacle—of the so-called (BBI)—constitutional amendments, constitutions are made to seem to be above classes and to promise to solve the nationality question. Yet, the truth is that as long as the nation is divided into classes of the few and the majority, the oppressors and the oppressed, the rich and the poor, there will never be national unity for wherever there are classes, inevitably, there will be class struggles (Lenin,1975:16-48., Marx, K:1990)

The Marxist Theory of the State (Lenin, ibid.)

Now, since Marxism is about the liberation of human beings and society from all forms of exploitation, oppression, myths, lies, ideologies, systems, and all that hinder the freedom, progress, and development of individuals and societies, it has

always struggled to demystify the incessant myths created by the bourgeoisie and previous reactionary classes about the state, that are imbued to whole societies. It is for these reasons that in analysing the prospects and problems of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 after ten years since its promulgation and the false promises of BBI for the future, I begin by briefly discussing the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state in general and that of the constitution in particular to advance the current debate beyond the populist propaganda and platitudes repeated in the country every day.

Marxism-Leninism expounds the truth that the government, army, police, prisons, judiciary, constitutions, and laws therein, are part and parcel of the coercive instruments of the state. The state is a machine of oppression and exploitation of one class by another. The state has never been neutral or served the interests of all classes at the same time in a country divided into classes but instead, it has always been the machine of maintaining—by force—the interests of the ruling classes. In fact, the state arose when private property and classes arose, for whenever and wherever there is private property there will be classes, and whenever and wherever there are classes there will always be class struggles. The state was necessary at the stage when private property and classes emerged for deliberately and systematically sustaining the exploitation and oppression of one class upon another.

Constitutions may be used to hide this fact and pretend to be neutral and to be made to seem to serve the interests of all people in society, yet ultimately, they are part and parcel of the coercive instruments of the state of ensuring the domination of one class over the other (Marx:1967). It is therefore an indisputable fact that constitutions and bourgeoisie democracy are used to

neutralise class struggles by pretending or promising to belong to all classes at the same time as objective and neutral institutions of providing justice and participation to all.

Constitutions are made to make the exploited and oppressed believe that their salvation will be brought about by a good and progressive constitution irrespective of the class nature of their society or nation. But the bitter fact is that whichever class controls political and economic power uses the constitution to serve its interests, to perpetuate its political and economic domination over other classes. Furthermore, the ruling classes will always interpret the constitution of any country or society to serve their interests however democratic or progressive or reactionary that constitution is. What is true in general in this regard is also true to Kenya in particular as history and practical everyday concrete experience continue to reveal.

The 2010 Kenyan constitution has not removed class struggles in the country. On the contrary, class struggles that take diverse forms are part and parcel of the life of the country have been defined and continue. The numerous workers' strikes, peasant's struggles for land and better prices for their produce, students' riots, and the uprising of the poor in urban and rural areas—are all manifestations of the ongoing class struggles in Kenya.

History of the State and Constitution in Kenya

When British colonialism started invading and colonising our country in about 1885, Kenyans in the interior of the country, composed of diverse ethnic groups, were at various stages of human society that I describe as mature communalism to distinguish them from primitive communalism. Nyerere refers to this mode or historical stage of human development as ujamaa or family hood (Nyerere,1974 & 1968).

Primitive Communalism

During primitive communalism, human beings were almost totally dependent on nature for survival, having hardly produced any culture (Engels:1989, Popov:1984). At that stage, there was complete equality among the existing social groups. All participated in hunting or gathering for their needs of survival that were limited. The labour of men and women, young and old were all necessary and equally required for the survival of individuals, families, and clans that eked their living directly from nature using primitive tools that needed the absolute participation of all. As a consequence of this, all that was produced was shared equally and there was equality in society without any form of exploitation of person by person. In the classless primitive communalist societies, there was no state as the need for it had not arisen since there was no private property. Private property is that property that is made and increased by exploiting the labour of other persons that are deprived of access to the means of production.

Mature Communalism

In the mature communalist societies, like most of those in the interior of Kenya before the advent of colonialism, the people were living in large clans of ethnic groups and had developed high material and intellectual cultures, differing from place to place (Nyerere, ibid., Achebe, 1967 & 1964 and Odinga:1974). The productive forces were at an advanced stage compared to that of communalism. The developed productive forces allowed the accumulation of surplus agricultural and livestock production that led to the division of labour in the societies. But although there was the division of labour and there were persons that were richer than others and different gender and age roles, still there was no class inequality as the basic means of production—land—

was still owned in common. Thus, there was no private property which is the basis of class division and the system of exploitation of person by person.

So, when colonialism arrived in the interior of Kenya the vast majority of Kenyan ethnic groups had no states as they were classless societies with the basic means of production, land, communally owned. There was no standing army, police, prison, government bureaucracy, or constitution. All this came with colonialism. The societies were governed by communal democracy led by elders and that involved the participation of all in society. Societies were held together by family values, customs, traditional beliefs based on communalism ethics inherited and passed on from generation to generation.

Semi-Feudal Societies

However, before the arrival of the Arab and Portuguese on the coast of Kenya starting from the twelfth Century, there were already slave/feudal societies that existed side by side with mature communalist societies (Abdulaziz, Mulokozi M.M, 1982). There were Mombasa, Malindi, and Lamu nation-states that were powerful enough to resist and fight Arab and Portuguese invasions for many years. The nation-states had higher material and intellectual cultures than the mature communalist societies at the interior of the country. The nation-states were always at war with one another with each trying to dominate others.

The societies of Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, and Pate were class societies. There were slave owners and slaves, feudal lords and peasants/serfs, and mature communalism societies dominated by the states that existed to sustain the system of exploitation of person by person. Islamic feudalism (Mulokozi,

ibid.) that came to dominate the Eastern African coast completed the structure of the societies that were perpetuated by the state.

The Colonial State

The state and its instruments of terror and coercion in most of the interior of Kenya came with British colonialism (Odinga,ibid., see also Achebe, ibid, in the case of Nigeria, Cabral A, 1980, in the case of Guinea Bissau). It was used to establish and impose British colonialism in the country that was resisted by the various Kenyan ethnic groups but eventually succeeded in 1920. The colonial constitution was part and parcel of the colonial state machine that was used to establish and maintain—by force—British colonialism in Kenya. Since constitutions are the mother of all laws, the colonial constitution was the source or mother of all colonial laws that were used to violently impose and maintain colonial rule and system in the country. The colonial constitution and the laws derived from it were part and parcel of the colonial machine of exploitation and oppression of Kenyans by the government and Kingdom of England.

The colonial regime used the constitution to legitimise the colonial rule. It was the constitution of the colonialists of establishing colonial rule in Kenya and of exploiting and oppressing Kenyans in their own country. The colonial laws drawn from the constitution made by the colonial parliament through colonial democracy that excluded indigenous Kenyans legitimised discriminations and racism against Kenyans and allowed the humiliations of the Africans by the Whites. Through the constitution and other instruments of the state, Kenyans were robbed of their dignity as human beings, land, and property by the colonial settlers and government. The colonial constitution established colonial dictatorship and terror in the country.

Treason, sedition, and allied laws were made to deny Kenyans democracy and to violate their human rights and political liberties. Thus, Kenyans were denied freedoms of assembly, association, speech, movement, and participation. Colonial democracy in Kenya was for the White settlers and colonialists and the parliament was of the White people for the White people and for making laws and policies for the White people to maintain the British colonial system. Kenyans were denied the right to vote and participate in parliament until they were close to achieving national Independence.

All forms of the national liberation struggle, including the war led by the Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau), were also struggles against the British colonial state and constitution in Kenya (Odinga, O, ibid.).

The Neo-Colonial State

However, it was the same state and system that the Kenyatta regime composed of the sons of colonial chiefs, home guards, collaborators, former civil servants of the colonial state that was inherited almost intact by the Kenyatta regime.

During the Kenyatta and successive regimes, the constitution was amended many times but this was always done not in the interest of progressive reforms but to seal the loopholes that would allow the majority of Kenyans more democracy, political liberties, and human rights. It was amended to entrench the capitalist system and dictatorship and exploitation of person by person in Kenya.

The Struggle for Democratic Reforms

For example, when in 1982 it became clear that Kenyan patriots, human rights, and democracy activists were determined to use the constitution to demand the restoration of multiparty democracy in the country, the Moi KANU regime that was then

in power rapidly used parliament at the end of July to introduce Article 2A in the constitution to make Kenya a *defacto* one political party state. Political parties were disallowed by the constitution except the then ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU). It was criminal to form or advocate for multipartism. This was immediately followed by the attempted coup launched by young officers of the then Kenya Airforce on 1st August, 1982.

The Persecution of Patriots

The Moi KANU regime used the attempted coup as an excuse to brutally crack on the multiparty advocates, progressive organisations, and individuals, and all it deemed as its opponents. Hundreds of patriots and agitators for democracy and human rights advocates including workers, peasants, students, lecturers, business persons, etc. were rounded up, arrested, tortured, brought before Moi's kangaroo courts to be tried, detained with and without trial, and imprisoned by the kangaroo courts. Many were removed from employment while students were expelled from their educational institutions. Others were forced to flee into exile. The constitution and its laws and judiciary system were used to justify and conduct this repression and persecution against citizens. The constitution was also used to hang to death leaders of the attempted coup and hundreds of sons of the poor, peasants, and workers at Kamiti Maximum Prison.

The 2010 Constitution Came Through a Hard Struggle

Thus the 2010 constitution was achieved through long, hard, and protracted struggles and sacrifices of Kenyan patriots, democracy, and progressive forces. As political parties were banned by the constitution and its laws, those like December Twelfth Movement and Mwakenya who fought for multipartism had to operate from the underground and in exile. Actually, in the

1980s many underground political parties, which besides agitating for multipartism also advocated for socialism, were formed in the country and exile. After years of struggle and mobilisation during which time Moi's dictatorship escalated arresting, torturing, and persecuting, progressive citizens including religious leaders, business persons, and people of his class, the demand for multipartism became a mass struggle with thousands of people joining demonstration demanding the end of dictatorship in the streets of urban areas and rural towns. Hundreds were killed by the Moi regime. Ultimately, the Moi KANU regime was forced by the relentless broad mass struggles to remove section 2A from the then constitution to pave way for multiparty democracy in 1992.

The Struggle Continued

But the coming in of multipartism did not mean the end of dictatorship in the country. Neither was it the defeat of the reactionary Moi political system. The Moi KANU regime still held on the instruments of state power, imposing its neocolonial capitalist system upon Kenyans which was characterised by state-sponsored interethnic violence, corruption, and gross violations of human rights that claimed hundreds of lives. The regime refused to listen to the call by the broad popular democratic forces for constitutional reforms to entrench multipartism. However, the mass struggles inspired by the gains already made proved to be unstoppable. Ultimately, the Moi KANU regime was defeated in the 2002 elections by the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) of the united opposition that made Mwai Kibaki President of the country.

The 'Second Liberation'

The defeat of the Moi KANU regime from power was hailed as the second liberation of Kenya. This was because the reforms

that came about after decades of hard protracted struggles since independence from classical British colonialism ended the post-colonial dictatorship that was akin to fascism.

The Kibaki NARC regime came about with more political liberties including the start of the culture of multipartism and the observance of human rights, including ending the practice of the death penalty. Kenyans breathed better air of freedom than ever before. But despite its pretence to the contrary, the regime too was reluctant to implement the desire of Kenyans for progressive constitutional reforms. The Kibaki NARC regime resisted the constitutional reforms needed to entrench multiparty democracy in the country. It had to take another eight years of hard struggles of the popular democratic forces before the constitutional reforms were ultimately achieved and promulgated in 2010.

Thus the 2010 constitution was achieved through the hard protracted struggle of Kenyans from below. It passed through the most consultative and participatory process in the history of constitutional making in the continent. It was debated by peasants, workers, and the entire nation at the grassroots. As a consequence, it is hailed as one of the most progressive constitutions in Africa.

Yet It Is a Bourgeois Constitution

However, despite all this, the 2010 constitution of Kenya is a bourgeois constitution (Marx, ibid., Engels, ibid.) in form and content and its prospects and problems should be appreciated as such. The drafters of the constitution were petit-bourgeoisie elites informed not by revolutionary ideas expressed and recorded by the popular masses from the grassroots but bourgeoisie ideas from above. The final product that forms the 2010 constitution came from the petit-bourgeoisie elites interpretation and drafting of the wishes and aspirations of the masses of Kenyans expressed

during the comprehensive consultative process and the Bomas Constitutional Conference of 2005. The people's views were revolutionary but the drafters watered them down to accommodate their petit-bourgeoisie position and the fears of the Kenyan neo-colonial elites who were then in power and who had earlier abandoned the Bomas popular draft constitution.

I say all this because I participated actively in the Boma's Conference as delegate number 131 and I know from firsthand about the class struggles that manifested themselves in the course of the debates and process that culminated with members of the then Kibaki government walking out of the Bomas Conference and thus making it to end prematurely—in fact, many defects in the constitution could be tressed to this. The 2010 constitution drafted by the late Nzamba Kitonga and his team of elites inevitably watered down the revolutionary wishes and aspirations of the Kenyan masses to produce the present constitution which when all is said and done is a bourgeois constitution.

Why Is It a Bourgeois Constitution?

Now, why is the 2010 constitution of Kenya a bourgeois constitution despite its progressive prospects? To begin with, it is too long (about 280 pages, The Constitution of Kenya, 2012) and is inaccessible to the majority of Kenyans who are peasants and workers as it remains only in English and hitherto has not been translated into the national language, Kiswahili, or other Kenyan languages and therefore remains the constitution meant to be read, understood and interpreted only by few citizens. The majority of citizens have to depend upon others to read and interpret the constitution for them.

The 2010 constitution is deliberately hard to be read, comprehend and to interpret by ordinary people, even educated

ones, even ordinary lawyers and even constitutional lawyers will have different understandings and interpretations and have to depend on the magistrates and judges for interpretations and different judges comprehend and interpret the constitution differently.

It is full of ambiguities and contradictions, it gives rights and limits them at the same time, it provides and negates simultaneously while making parallel and opposing articles that are hard to fathom and interpret (see also Marx).

The Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights contains a very comprehensive list of human rights. Desirable and progressive as they are, when all is said and done, they are bourgeoisie rights as it is assumed that they are realisable in a class/capitalist system to all citizens. Yet the meaning of freedom, equity, equality, right, justice, and human rights to the capitalist is different from that of the ordinary citizens. The rich and the poor cannot have equal rights and freedoms at the same time. To the capitalist, private property and the system of exploitation of person by person is justified, allowed, and right (Engels, F. ibid.).

True, there cannot be equity and equality between the rich and the poor, the capitalists and the working class, the oppressor and oppressed. In a class society like Kenya, the working class must interpret the concept of equity and equality to mean class equity and equality which ultimately means the abolition of classes, capitalism, and all forms of exploitation and oppression of person by person.

That is why the existence of the 2010 constitution has not stopped few families in Kenya from owning hundreds of thousands of acres of land while millions remain squatters or with hardly any land to eke a living on their own country of birth.

Neither has it stopped the system that allows a few persons to own the means of production, banks, large businesses, industries, machines and to use them to mint billions for the few while creating poverty for the majority. Because it is founded in the bourgeois constitution that is based upon the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression of person by person and class by class the rich Bill of Rights is realised more on the breach than the observance.

The Constitution Reflects Class Struggles

The 2010 constitution exposes the class nature of Kenyan societies and the class struggles thereof. This happened clearly during the said 2005 Bomas constitutional conference where I was actively present. All debates of the articles were struggles between those who represented the wishes and aspirations of the masses and those who represented the ruling capitalist elites. The then bourgeoisie Kibaki government in power sabotaged the Bomas Conference by forcing it to end prematurely. The government and the ruling class feared the imminent triumph of the majority of delegates from the working classes and the grassroots. I was there and witnessed everything.

Interpretation of the Constitution

Since the constitution manifests class struggles in Kenya, whichever class controls state power interprets it to serve its own interests. It is for this reason that the Kenya pro-neocolonial capitalism elites in power today have ignored or only paid lip service to the progressive articles of the constitution that expresses the wishes and aspirations of the majority of the people of Kenya. Many a time court orders are ignored or only implemented at the whims of those in power. The majority of Kenyans during the consultative and Bomas Constitution Conference wished a constitution that would be used to establish

a socialist system and state in the country. In fact, should a progressive or revolutionary party like CPK capture state power, they could identify certain articles in the constitution and use them to initiate pro-socialist reforms. These include the following:

The Preamble of the 2010 Constitution

The preamble clearly articulates the wishes and aspirations of the Kenyan people of remembering their centuries and decades-long history of resistance and struggle from foreign and colonial domination and for freedom and justice, of the heroes and heroines who sacrificed for the liberation of our country. It celebrates national unity while appreciating ethnic and cultural diversity. The preamble also acknowledges the need for citizens to conserve the environment for the benefit of present and future generations. It commits all Kenyans "to nurture and protect the well-being of the individual, the family, communities and the nation". It recognises "the aspirations of all Kenyans for a government based on essential values of human rights, equality, freedom, democracy, social justice and the rule of law."

The problem is that all this can hardly be realised under the present capitalist system but only after the country is liberated from the class divisions and when socialism is achieved. In the meantime, in the ongoing struggle for progressive reforms, and socialism, we will emphasise the significance of the Preamble and the socialist-oriented articles in the 2010 constitution of Kenya, which examples follow below.

Article 10

Article 10 of the constitution stipulates the national values and principles of governance that must be referred to in interpreting and implementing the constitution, which shows that the majority of Kenyans aspire for a socialist Kenya and justifies

CPK's existence as a political party that expresses the wishes and aspirations of the majority of Kenyans for their nation: socialism.

The national values and principles of governance include:

a) patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy, and participation of the people.
b) human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalised,
c) good governance, integrity, transparency, and accountability, and sustainable development.

Furthermore, this article binds all State organs, state officers, public officers, and all persons whenever any of them:

a) applies or interprets this constitution,
b) enacts, applies, or interprets any law; or
c) makes or implements public policy decisions.

However, this article is implemented more in the breach than the observance. The present capitalist government and ruling class only pays lip service to the article as to implement it would be to transform Kenya into a socialist-oriented society and state. Anyway, be it as it may, it justifies our struggle for a socialist state and society.

Article 1:1 and 2

Article 1: 1 and 2 states that:

1. All sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya and shall be exercised only in accordance with this constitution;
2. The people may exercise their sovereign power either directly or through their democratically elected representatives.

All this means that the majority of Kenyans have the constitutional mandate to struggle for and establish the political system of their choice because the choice is vested in them. And the constitution itself shows that the majority of Kenyans desire socialist Kenya. Therefore, the struggle for a socialist Kenya is constitutional.

Article 4:2

Article 4:2 states that "The Republic of Kenya shall be a multiparty democratic state founded on the national values and principles referred to in Article 10". We invoked this article when in 2019 we changed the name of our party from the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) to the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK). A rogue Registrar of Political Parties had attempted to refuse to register the name of our party citing her anti-communist sentiments not understanding or refusing to understand that in fact, the spirit of the constitution is the desire of the majority of Kenyans for political parties with the ideology of socialism. Our members were forced to demonstrate to win our constitutional right to our rightful name: Communist Party of Kenya (CPK).

Article 7 on Languages

Article 7 of the constitution empowers the Kenyan patriots and masses of workers and peasants through language. It states:

7.1. The national language of the Republic is Kiswahili.

7.2. The official languages of the Republic are Kiswahili and English;

3. The state shall:

a) promote and protect the diversity of language of the people of Kenya, and

b) promote the development and use of indigenous languages, Kenya Sign language, Braille and other

communication forms and technologies accessible to persons with disabilities.

Unfortunately, the state in power today has hardly implemented this article concerning language. Despite Kiswahili being the national language of Kenya, the language of national unity, and the lingua franca of Eastern and Central Africa, the 2010 constitution has not been translated into Kiswahili and all the national laws are available only in English. Although Kiswahili is used in parliament, all parliament documents are available only in English as most government official documents. The most important speeches of the President during national days are made in English. Hardly any efforts have been made by the government or education system to develop and promote other indigenous languages of Kenya. All this shows that the neocolonial capitalists of Kenya are not willing to empower the Kenyan masses in spite of their wishes expressed in the constitution. Neither are they, progressive nationalists.

Article 8: on Religion

Article 8 states, "There shall be no state religion". This is a progressive article as it helps to avoid inter-religious conflicts and gives room for freedom of conscience.

Article 26 on the Right to Life

Article 26: Every person has the right to life. Life is a fundamental human right that must be respected and protected at all costs. The ultimate goal of all revolutionary struggles is to realise every individual's right to life. So the state and society must utilise the natural and all available resources to ensure the realisation of the right to life to all. To allow only a few individuals to control the economy and resources of the country while the majority are currently condemned to the life of poverty,

slums, want and suffering, is to violate Article 26. The capitalist system is the basis of the violation of the fundamental human right, the right to life because it is based on the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person. The struggle against capitalism and for socialism is the struggle for the right to life for all citizens.

Article 43 on Economic and Social Rights

To realise the right to life, the same constitution in Article 43—just as the CPK manifesto, constitution, and other documents—pinpoints the basic economic and social rights that must be realised to ensure the implementation of Article 26:

1. Every person has the right to:
    a) the highest attainable standard of health, which includes the right to healthcare services, including reproductive healthcare,
    b) accessible and adequate housing, and reasonable standard of sanitation,
    c) to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality,
    d) to clean and safe water in adequate quantities,
    e) to social security, and
    f) education.

Furthermore, Article 43.2. states that "A person shall not be denied emergency medical treatment, and Article 43.3. states that "the state shall provide adequate social security to persons who are unable to support themselves and their dependants".

It is clear that the neocolonial capitalist system that is the mother of inequality, corruption, economic mismanagement, and exploitation of person by person and that is privatising every aspect of the economy every day has been unable and will not be able to realise economic and social rights outlined in this article.

Privatisation of social services, including health, housing, and educational services is a violation of this article. In Kenya today the poor are condemned to premature deaths because they cannot access medical care or afford nutritious food or simply die of hunger, slum life, and incessant exposure to an unhealthy environment.

The Kenyan workers, peasants, and all progressive and revolutionary forces must, therefore, unite and struggle to overthrow the capitalist system to establish a socialist society and state to realise the constitutional economic and social rights. For the bourgeoisie will not provide them these rights on a silver platter.

On the Land Issue

Land is the most important resource of the country. All natural resources and cultures thereof are based on land. That is why land access and rights have always been contested and have been the basis of class struggles and social revolutions. The struggle for independence from colonialism in Kenya was also the struggle for land, thus the Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau).

Since the land problem was not solved after independence but instead escalated, land has always been behind the myriad conflicts and class struggles in the country (Odinga, ibid.). Neo-colonial capitalism and the growth of the Kenyan bourgeoisie class and the creation of the large class of the poor rural and urban classes is the product of the primitive accumulation of land and land resources accompanied by rampant state-sanctioned corruption and land grabbing.

Chapter five of the 2010 constitution addresses the land question. Although it contains populist articles that seem to empower the masses in relation to land, they are actually

bourgeoisie gimmicks that compromise the revolutionary wishes and aspirations—that were expressed by popular masses—in favour of private ownership of land. The interpretation and implementation of the articles, like the constitution, also depend on which class controls state power. As it is the capitalist and procapitalist elites that control state power in Kenya today, the chapter on land in the constitution—despite its populist pronouncements—has been interpreted to perpetuate and to entrench, through the legislation arising from it, private ownership of land and land resources—rather than land reforms that empower the people and communities in the control and use of their land and land resources

Article 60 (1) states that "Land in Kenya shall be held, used and managed in a manner that is equitable, and in accordance with the following principles:

a) Equitable access to land;
b) security of land rights;
c) sustainable and productive management of land resources;
d) transparent and cost-effective administration of land;
e) sound conservation and protection of ecologically sensitive areas;
f) elimination of gender discrimination in law, customs, and practice related to land and property in land; and
g) encouragement of communities to settle land disputes through recognised local community initiatives consistent with this constitution.

There would have been progressive land reforms that would have brought the equitable distribution of land stated in this article if the above principles were implemented. But today Kenya is divided into classes of the few rich landowners and the

majority poor peasants and landless. And what is "equitable" or fair to the rich is not "equitable" or fair to the poor. The status quo of privatisation of land that favours the rich continues and escalates. In the capitalist system imposed upon Kenyans by the ruling class that control political and state power, it is considered equitable for few local and foreigners to own hundreds of thousands of acres of land while millions have little or hardly any land to eke a living on or are landless or squatters. Those who do not till land or need it for their livelihoods own it and those who till land and need it for their livelihoods are denied access to it. This capitalist land tenure system which is the mother of rural and urban slums and poverty is considered just and fair by the Kenyan capitalist ruling class that is in power today. The 2010 constitution, therefore, has not solved the land problem in favour of the peasants and masses of Kenya.

Article 61 states that, (1) All land in Kenya belongs to the people of Kenya collectively as a nation, as communities and individuals."

But Kenya is a nation divided into classes, of the few rich and that of the majority poor, the exploiters and the exploited, the capitalist on the one hand, and the peasants, workers, and working-class on the other hand. In fact, land in Kenya belongs to individuals and families who either own thousands of acres or only small pieces hardly enough to eke a living, but all have private titles to their lands or claim the pieces of privatised lands. The talk that "all land in Kenya belongs to the people of Kenya collectively as a nation..." is a wish of the majority of Kenyans but that can only be realised in a socialist Kenya that must be struggled for.

(2) Land in Kenya is classified as public, community or private. Despite the existence of this article, private ownership of

land is not only more protected by the constitution and laws emerging from it than community or public land. Laws made by parliamentarians composed of pro-capitalist elites, not to speak of pieces of papers called title deeds, continue to be used to grab, legalise and protect private lands irrespective of how they were or are acquired by individuals or groups of individuals. What is referred to as public or community land is increasingly privatised despite the existence of institutions created by the constitution to protect the land.

Land tenure is how land is owned and used. The capitalist land tenure system puts more emphasis on how land is owned (title deeds) rather than how land is used. This encourages and protects land speculation creating large parcels of idle land owned by individuals displaying title deeds but not putting the lands in productive use. Yet millions of Kenyans need the land for productive use but cannot access it. Furthermore, the capitalist land tenure impedes the implementation of government development plans such as infrastructure projects of roads, dams, water, housing, research, public utilities, eradication of slums, etc. as the government has hardly any land and has to keep on compensating individuals when it needs the land. Private land ownership in urban areas is the root cause of the escalating growth of unplanned settlements or slums in Kenyan urban areas. The 2010 constitution does not provide for the road map towards the elimination of slums and conflicts over land and land resources remain part and parcel of everyday life in Kenya. The constitution actually documents and summarises the class struggles manifested in the land tenure it describes.

Article 174 on the Objects of Devolution

The 2010 constitution is a bourgeois constitution that promises so many good things that however are neither

interpreted in favour of the majority of Kenyans nor implemented for the freedom and liberation of the oppressed and exploited. It pretends to be for the good of all Kenyans, yet it is full of contradictions at the same time that favor private property and the status quo of capitalism.

Communists do not reject progressive reforms that improve the living conditions of the working class and the whole society. Rather we are against the reduction of the reforms to be the end in themselves. That is why even while struggling to overthrow capitalism in Kenya and replace it with a socialist system and state, we shall search for and utilise the progressive articles in the constitution to demand the progressive reforms therein and to advanced the path towards socialism.

Chapter ten of the 2010 constitution is one of the greatest progressive reforms of governance in the country.

Article 174 points out the objects of the devolution of government which are:

a) to promote democratic and accountable exercise of power,
b) to foster national unity by recognizing diversity,
c) to give powers of self-governance to the people and enhance the participation of the people in the exercise of the power of the state and in making decisions affecting them,
d) to recognise the right of communities to manage their affairs and further their development,
e) to promote and protect the interests of minorities and marginalised communities,
f) to promote social and economic development and the provision of proximate, easily accessible services throughout Kenya,

g) to ensure equitable sharing of national and local resources throughout Kenya,
h) to facilitate the decentralization of State organs, their functions and services, from the capital of Kenya, and,
i) enhance checks and balances and the separation of powers.

Devolution has been implemented for about eight (is it 8 or 10) years now. There are now 47 county governments, 47 county assemblies and 47 county public service boards that are in charge of recruiting and employing civil servants of the counties. Besides, there is the Senate and elected Senetors whose major mandate is to represent their counties in the Senate parliament and to deal with constitutional matters of devolution, including representation, approval, and allocation of budgets of counties, oversight, and legislation.

The governments and public services are closer to the people at the grassroots than ever before. Thanks also to the implementation of devolution, there is greater participation of the citizens in the day-to-day affairs of the government that affect them than before the existence and implementation of the 2010 constitution. Citizens more and more participate in the budget-making process and are involved in overseeing the implementation of government projects including prioritising their needs. Thus, citizens are increasingly being aware of their rights to demand services and accountability from their governments.

Although delays in the flow of funds from the national treasury to the county governments are often experienced—thus disrupting the implementation of development plans of the county governments—at least the county governments do receive more than fifteen percent of the national budget due to them

every year. This means that billions of shillings circulate in the rural areas annually, which in turn stimulate local economies and rural development. In fact, the impact of devolution to rural development whether to infrastructure, agriculture, or educational, sports, water, and health services are observed throughout the country, the extent of which differs from county to county. More people are employed in rural areas than ever before. The rural areas are breathing life than ever before.

The head of counties are Governors with their cabinets and civil servants. Devolution has produced more leaders with the practice of running governments than ever before. This adds value to the quantity and quality of leadership in the country in general as more and more people are involved in leadership.

The existence of 47 county assemblies adds to the development of democratic culture at the grassroots.

Challenges of Devolution

The objects of devolution quoted above are desirable, if only they were implemented effectively. But the tragedy of the 2010 constitution is that it assumes that progressive reforms such as devolution could be implemented sustainably under the capitalist system. Capitalism with its inherent contradictions of inequality, corruption, greed, marginalisation of the poor, tribalism, and nepotism has been devolved to the counties.

Just like the members of the national parliaments, the members of the county assemblies who receive exorbitant salaries and emoluments are also notorious for fighting for their interests and privileges rather than those of the masses who elected them. The wage bill is huge and is escalated by, among others, the too big salaries and allowances of the elected elites and top civil servants, leaving very little for development projects.

As explained in Article 174(e), one of the objects of devolution is to foster national cohesion by protecting the interests of the marginalised and minority persons and communities in the counties. Yet, most counties hitherto employ only members of their dominant ethnic groups in the counties, and thus escalating the problem of tribalism.

But the major problem of devolution is that land and land resources are hardly devolved and remain under the control of the national government. Yet, the single most important demand of various Kenyan ethnic groups that brought about devolution was the right of communities to access, manage, conserve and accrue direct and indirect benefits from their resources.

However, it is the national government that has greater control of land and land resources through the ministries of Land and that of Mining and Petroleum via their officers in the counties. The relevant county government departments and officers have hardly any powers in this regard compared to the national officers and their ministers in Nairobi. As a consequence, corruption involving land and land resources that is notorious in the ministry of lands and mining in Nairobi has been devolved to the counties.

Local communities are still alienated from their lands and land resources while the problems of land and land resources continue to escalate. National land officers who are connected with the ministries of land and mining in Nairobi are in the counties to enrich themselves through corruption rather than serving the local people or solving their problems. The dominant power of the national government over the land and land resources of the counties is a great impediment to land reforms in favour of peasants, the poor and the majority of citizens of Kenya. Devolved governments should call for the constitution to

be amended to allow complete devolution of land and land resources to empower the county governments and communities to be in charge of their most important resource. But the BBI report that is being forced upon Kenyans by the government of Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga deliberately ignore the above facts and instead opt to perpetuate the status quo of injustices over land and land resources.

Conclusion

The state is a machine of oppression of one class by another while the constitution is part and parcel of its coercive instruments. In Kenya, the state is a machine of the neo-colonial capitalist class of exploiting and oppressing the class of the majority composed of workers, peasants, and the working class in general. The constitution is also part of the coercive system of the state of performing a definite role for the exploiters and oppressors in this regard.

This ultimately means that it is the class that controls political and economic power that interprets and implements the constitution to maintain and perpetuate its rule over other classes. The working class and other popular forces must therefore struggle to capture and control state power to create and impose its constitution that is for its class interests and that of the poor, exploited, and oppressed.

In the meantime, it is important to note that the 2010 constitution contains many progressive articles that could be utilised to enhance progressive reforms that could improve the welfare of the masses and even charter the road towards social progress and socialism.

That is why CPK joins those who are opposed to the reactionary BBI report that is being forced upon Kenyans by Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, and their sycophants and

collaborators. There is the urgent need to implement the progressive articles contained in the 2010 constitution before organising its genuine and participatory review and amendment.

NO LAW CAN BAN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
19 February 2021

It has been reported that a certain member of parliament has drafted a bill to take to parliament—to convince it—to make it a serious offence punishable by a harsh custodial sentence and fine for anyone who advocates class conflict in society such as the "hustler" and "wheelbarrow" political slogan. The MP proposes that any such person who uses class and class struggles to advance his or her political interests will be barred from vying for future elective posts if so convicted.

This is very reactionary indeed, to say the least! It appears that either the MP is ignorant of Kenya's recent history or has chosen to ignore it. Worse still, maybe he is sick in the head.

The dishonorable MP pretends that he is not aware that the masses and patriots of Kenya only a few years ago liberated our country from one of the worst dictatorships in the continent. The Kenyatta-Moi-KANU regimes used colonial sedition, treason and allied laws to deny Kenyans their freedoms of speech, association, assembly and movement. It took decades of hard protracted struggles and great sacrifices to bring about the 2010 constitution that contains a comprehensive Bill of Rights that the shameless, backward and primitive MP thinks he or parliament can trample under the foot, with impunity!

But because perhaps there are other persons in the country's top leadership who may have been made to panic so much as to lose their heads and sense of history by the hustler-wheelbarrow narrative that they say threatens to provoke the poor and oppressed to gain class consciousness and threaten their class positions and interests, I will briefly point out a few facts about the matter.

To begin with, the history of hitherto existing societies has been a history of class struggles, the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, explained in 1848. They were then referring to the history of Europe. But the history of Africa and Kenya too, particularly since the invasion of colonialism, has been a history of class struggles. Even long before colonialism, class struggles had existed in the slave/feudalist states of many African countries and also at the coast of Kenya.

Class struggles are about the struggle for political, economic and state power. A class is a large group of people who occupy a definite positioning in relation to the means of production. In a slave society it was the slave owners who controlled the means of production—land—and because they did so, they also owned political, economic and state power and were the exploiter and oppressor class.

The movers of history that make one mode of production to change into another are the objective conditions and subjective conditions of historical development. The objective conditions that are independent of people's will are the growth and development of productive forces that, once they reach a certain level of development, get into contradictions with the subjective conditions and demand change. It is the subjective conditions—class struggles and revolutions—that complete the transformation of one mode of production into another. A revolution is a complete change in which one class takes over state power from another.

When peasants, workers and bourgeoisie classes united and together captured state power from the Kings and feudal lords they brought about the bourgeoisie or capitalist revolution. It is called the capitalist or bourgeoisie revolution because it was the

bourgeoisie class that took over state power from the Kings or feudal lords even though the revolution was brought about jointly but mainly by the peasants.

Now, when the workers, working class and their allies take over power from the feudalist or bourgeoisie it becomes a socialist revolution as it happened in Russia in 1917, China in 1949, North Korea in 1953, Cuba 1959, etc. All these historical happenings are objective and unstoppable, and will happen sooner of later. No legal measures will prevent class revolutions from happening as long as a particular society or country is divided into classes, like Kenya. Revolutions are like pregnancies, in which, when nine months is reached, nothing will prevent the mother from giving birth to a new born.

Under colonialism Kenyans were denied access to the means of production, the basic of which was land. It was the colonial government, colonial capitalists and White settlers who were the class of exploiters and oppressors that controlled political, economic and state power and used it to perpetuate the capitalist colonial system.

Africans or indigenous Kenyans, formed the largest and most exploited and oppressed class. They were robbed of their land and forced to pay taxes to the colonial administration. Besides, they were forced to endure racism and all sorts of humiliations in their own motherland. Colonialism violated the human rights of Kenyans including the right to national independence and sovereignty.

But whenever there are classes their will, inevitably, always be class struggles. This is an objective reality independent of people's will. It is like the earth will always rotate on its own axis and revolve around the sun whether we notice it or not or acknowledge it or not. And the day will always follow night and

night will always follow the day—always whether we live or die. That is why after decades of colonial oppression, Kenyan patriots used all means possible to organise the national liberation struggle that eventually brought independence from British colonialism.

Class struggles cannot be wished away or suppressed by any court of law. Neither can they be removed by prisons, military forces or the coercive instruments of the state. What will remove class struggles is the abolition of classes and the end of private property. Were the ruling classes in Kenya committed to ending the system of greed and of exploitation and oppression of person by person, they would not be shaken by the hustler-wheelbarrow narrative as they are already doing! With the ever-widening gap between the rich and the majority poor, the leaders and beneficiaries of the reactionary system the leaders have reasons to fear the rising class consciousness of the exploited and oppressed.

Socialism is the processes of the removal of classes with the dictatorship of the majority classes over the minority classes. Today it is the minority class that controls political, economic and state power in Kenya and imposes its capitalist system upon the whole society. When the majority of Kenyans capture state power, as they will ultimately do, the majority will control state power and use it to establish a system of class equality, social and distributive justice, without exploitation and oppression of person by person.

Under communism—which is to come in the far future—classes will completely disappear and the state will have withered away for there will be no need for it. This is the objective truth that we also articulate as a political party that stands for the truth and nothing but the truth, and charts the way for the freedom and

development of our society and nation. The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) states facts and will struggle at anything that tries to stop us from doing so. This is because facts are stubborn and can never be obliterated by threats and intimidations or by the reactionaries irrespective of where they come from.

So, for an MP to even contemplate about introducing a bill about banning the mention of class struggles in political advocacy is displaying ignorance about reality and facts of human history in general and Kenya's history in particular. The 2010 Constitution that was brought about by the struggles of Kenyans from below contains a comprehensive Bill of Rights that we shall defend at all costs. To even think of bringing a bill to parliament to violate freedom of speech is not only outrageous but disrespectful to thousands of Kenyans who died in the course of the struggle for independence and the constitutional and political gains our country has made hitherto. The MP who has provoked this article is not worthy being in parliament. He should be condemned with all words possible. He deserves being recalled by voters of his constituency who elected him.

And this is the position of CPK.

THE 2022 NATIONAL ELECTIONS: KENYANS, THINK OUTSIDE THE BOX!

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
12 August 2019

With humility, sincerity and the love that I have for you as a people and nation, I wish at this time and date to remind and warn you that you have been fixed in a box by the reactionary leaders of Kenya, their capitalist ideology and socio-economic system. They use all means at their disposal, including but not limited to the press, tribalism, political meetings and all machinery of propaganda and control to ensure that you remain permanently fixed in the reactionary box they have deliberately designed for you to serve their interests.

Remember, however much you lament, cry, condemn, wish or pray, unless you think outside the box, unless you get yourselves out of the box that you are fixed in, you will remain at their mercy; poor, exploited, oppressed and the wretched of the earth. No sustainable positive change will happen to you as long as you continue allowing yourselves to remain in the reactionary box deliberately designed for you by the capitalist exploiters and oppressors in power and their capitalist system and ideology.

What do I mean by angrily saying all this—and now? Kenya's national elections will be held in 2022, but already the country is being driven in a heated election mood as if the elections will happen tomorrow. In fact, hitherto, it has been happening that no sooner are the elections held and concluded than the campaigns for the next one five years away begin immediately all over again. It is as if Kenyans live on elections.

You, the majority of citizens, are fixed to put your minds in those elections in order to forget the present economic and social problems that you are made to suffer from and live with by the

same regime and its reactionary system. Rather than, for example, demand for immediate solutions to corruption, poverty, growing unemployment, inequality, crime, insecurity, hunger, violence and hardships of all sorts happening today, you are instead fixed to accept to continue dreaming about false promises of solutions which they lie to you will come after the 2022 national elections that dominate media reports, news and political discussions in the country today. It is as though sustainable progressive change has ever happened anywhere and in history spontaneously without deliberate and organized struggle!

Using the same media, they have fixed you to choose leaders from the same box in every election. At the moment, you are again being driven to think that the 2022 President of Kenya should and must be either Raila Odinga or Musalia Mudavadi or Kalonzo Musyoka or William Ruto or Moses Wetangula or even Uhuru Kenyatta—that is if in their handshake political intrigues, they have conspired with Raila in the form of Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) that he will remain in political power somehow after he retires from the presidency.

Each of the presidential candidates you are being fixed to choose from in the box is loitering around the country promising he is best suited to deliver you from the cancer of corruption, poverty, underdevelopment, stampeding inflation and national debt, hunger, unemployment, insecurity, economic stagnation, tribalism and a myriad of social problems facing our country today and imposed upon us by the same elites. You don't even stand to think and ask them—especially those in charge of the government now—what is preventing them from implementing the solutions here and now while they are in charge?

And because you are fixed in the box deliberately designed for your manipulation, like innocent lambs, you only believe

them and have even started preparing to elect as President in 2022 from the same same box!

It is as though you are not aware that the said presidential candidates have completely run out of ideas of governing the country towards freedom and social progress—if they ever had any—but are also instead part and parcel of the problems confronting Kenya today and that impacts very harshly upon you, the wretched of Kenya. Don't you know that they are so enslaved by the desire to make money for themselves and their families that they hardly have any time to think about your welfare? What they care about is to make money and more and more money by any means at their disposal including corruption and betraying the nation; more and more money for hoarding and for fixing you in the box.

Don't you also remember that all of the 2022 presidential candidates from the box that are being popularized by the press everyday—all of them—have been involved, implicated, mentioned or accused of corruption and theft of public property at present or in the recent past?

Have you also forgotten that all of them were once senior leaders of the notorious and despicable Kenya African National Union (KANU) at the time when the political party was using state power to grossly violate the freedoms and human rights of Kenyans to the level akin to that of fascism? When President Moi was arresting, torturing, detaining, imprisoning, exiling and persecuting Kenyan patriots who were calling and struggling for multiparty democracy, political reforms and the present Constitution of Kenya, the said 2022 presidential candidates from the box were busy turning themselves into millionaires and billionaires using the positions they then occupied in the corrupt

and dictatorship regime that used to reward it's sycophants with public land, plots, eating positions and other forms of property.

They were even planning to bring back to the present Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions the notorious, despicable and infamous retired former Deputy Director of Public Prosecutions and also former Chief Justice, Bernard Chunga, who was lavishly rewarded by President Moi for grossly violating the human rights of Kenyan patriots during the 1980s. The Moi torturer and persecutor of multiparty democracy advocates was about to be appointed to lead a Task Force with specific duties at the office of the DPP today!

You also seem not to remember that these people made the millions and billions of money and property they hold and hoard today during and beginning from the Kenyatta-Moi-KANU regime. Others are proud of inheriting stolen land, money, wealth and even political popularity from their parents who used to wield and hold political and economic power. Today they are multiplying all this many times over while using the same political and economic power to fix you in the box to help them to continue retaining power over you!

Despite all of this, and since you are thinking of voting for only those inside the box, you are planning to choose a President from only among them come 2022! You are fixed to either forget or ignore history just as you ignore patriotic, honest and good capable leaders committed to your interests during elections—just because they have not looted public money to bribe you with! And since those that ignore history are doomed to repeat it, you always end up in the cycle of poverty, suffering, economic stagnation and underdevelopment.

National elections that are held after every five years are made to seem to be only meaningless rituals. Yet the elections

are important, for they are used to legitimize successive regimes that ensure that you remain firmly fixed in the box. Were you to come out of the box and listen to us then you would use the democracy to win progressive reforms and to enhance the class struggle.

All the said presidential candidates from the box being popularized by the media are capitalists. Their ideology and that of their political parties embrace the values and principles of capitalism. Capitalism is the system based on private property and exploitation and oppression of person by person. Capitalism is the basis of the corruption, greed and inequality that you are fixed in the box to endure. The system of the capitalist political parties in power today is for the interests of the class of the rich few and not for that of you, the majority of Kenyans, who are poor, marginalized and desperate.

That is why in the National and County Parliaments of Kenya composed mainly of members of the political parties that you voted for, JUBILEE, ODM, WIPER, FORD KENYA and ANC always make laws to increase their own salaries, allowances and other benefits for themselves and other privileged members of the society. They hardly think about legislating to really improve the condition of workers, peasants, the unemployed and those who struggle and sweat everyday to merely earn a meagre living. They do not make, pass and implement policies to provide land to the landless and to eradicate slums. They pretend to fight corruption outside the Parliaments while tolerating it and even practicing it to fund their greed, lavish lifestyles and to perpetuate the tactic of fixing you in the box of recycling them as rulers.

The law makers also oversee the destruction of public economy by the robbery of public enterprises and parastatals through privatisation and implementation of neoliberal economic

and social policies. They hardly represent the interests of the classes of the poor and exploited who elected them. Instead, they are there to perpetuate the capitalists' status quo using the Parliaments that they have made mere talking shops or dogs with no teeth to bite. Why you are preparing to re-elect to Parliament the same political parties, their leaders and members and expect to see progressive change in your favour defeats all logic! Or is it perhaps because they have succeeded to lock you so tightly in the box that you are unable to think and make rational choices?

British colonialism was removed from Kenya by the armed struggle of patriots who had to endure and overcome all sorts of challenges. Thousands were arrested, detained, tortured, exiled and forced to suffer all kinds of persecution and humiliation by the colonialists for fighting for the freedom and liberation of this country. Others died resisting colonialism and in the course of the national liberation war. And today you, you are so fixed in the box that you cannot change government only by voting wisely. Just by only walking in a secret ballot box and casting your vote wisely and in your interest defeats you! You have accepted to be made so useless, greedy, corrupt, immoral and stupid that you demand fifty or hundred or two hundred... shillings to remain in the box!

What is even worse is that you are fixed in tribal based politics of divide and rule if you choose the 2022 President from the box. You know of this very well but you choose to encourage and support tribalism that always threatens to destroy Kenya's nationhood!

You let them move around your home Counties addressing you; "This is the time for the Luhya to produce the President of Kenya", says Musalia and Wetangula to their tribal henchmen and women and you a Mluhya common man or woman fixed in

the box yell and clap with happiness! At the same time Ruto tells the Kalenjin the same, Kalonzo tells the Kamba the same and Raila tells the Luo the same. And all are cheered by you their tribesmen and women fixed in the box of tribalism!

Then the 2022 presidential candidates meet as a class in their exclusive clubs somewhere in Kenya to negotiate about the tribal alliances in preparation for the elections. In the negotiations they share the State eating positions that they will use to get you fixed in the box to vote for them. Then you who are fixed in the box are made to choose the tribalism and intrigue driven political blocks of Tangatanga or Kieleweke or Handshake. Or the charlatans calling themselves Team Wanjiku!

Yet the tribalism based politics have nothing to do with you, whether you have accepted to remain in the box or not. Kenya is made up of over forty-two ethnicities but the tribal blockings that they use for negotiations are those from the largest ethnicities. Since they have fixed you to believe that elections is about numbers, they who are in fact tribal chauvinists conspire to manipulate and use other Kenyan ethnicities that they have fixed in the box to add to their numbers, for they have fixed you to accept to be regarded as mere numbers and voting machines.

In their tribalism based presidential bids they don't give a damn about a nation called Kenya or national interests or even you that they have fixed in their tribalism box even though you don't belong to their tribal class. What they care about is their own personal interests and how they can use the tactics of divide and rule to fix you in the box so that you continue helping them to perpetuate their class system, rule and interests that are completely opposite to those of yours and your own class.

You see, even though you speak the same mother tongue, even though you come from the same geographical or political

location, even though you are blood relatives and even though you are fixed to believe that you are from the same clan or ethnicity with them, the truth of the matter is that you are not the same ethnicity and will never be as long as the class divisions remain.

Yes, as long as Kenya is divided into classes as it is today there will always be two ethnicities, their ethnicity and your/our ethnicity, the ethnicity of the few and that of the majority, the ethnicity of the rich and that of the poor, of the exploited and of the exploiters, of the capitalists and of the workers and working classes. Ignoring or doubting this truth means being fixed in the box until you wake up from the slumber, or you are somehow made to gain consciousness after being exploited and oppressed for too long by them.

Remember, Jomo Kenyatta was the first President of Kenya and he was a Kikuyu by ethnicity. Yet it is the ethnicity of the rich Kikuyus and the ethnicity of rich non-Kikuyus who benefited the most from his primitive accumulation capitalist leadership. The majority of Kikuyus remain as poor and oppressed as other poor and oppressed Kenyans from other ethnicities.

Neither did the lives of the poor, exploited and oppressed Kalenjins become better than those of other poor, exploited and oppressed Kenyans from other ethnicities just because Moi became President after Kenyatta. Also the Kikuyu poor, exploited and oppressed people do not live better than the poor, exploited and oppressed Kenyans from other ethnicities just because the two successive Presidents, Kibaki and Uhuru have come from the box of the Kikuyu ethnicity.

You see, you are fixed in your ethnicity during elections and only in the interests of the common exploiters and oppressors.

Otherwise, after elections and in times of peace and tranquillity, there is no Kikuyu or Kalenjin or Luo or Somali ethnicity. There are only two ethnicities, the ethnicity of the exploiting Kenyans and that of the exploited Kenyans, irrespective of the mother tongues they speak. Each ethnicity, regardless of the languages they speak and the religions they practice, retreat to their ethnic-class spaces that they occupy in Kenya and to their lifestyles and cultures conditioned by the capitalist system. In Nairobi, for example, the ethnicity of the rich from all ethnicities live in the exclusive suburbs of Muthaiga, Karen, Runda, Lavington, etc., while the poor and wretched from all ethnicities of the country are dumped by the system to suffer and suffocate at Kibera, Mathare, Kawangare, Mukuru, etc. slums.

Yet the ethnicity of the rich fixes you so much in the box of tribalism during elections that you imagine that you belong to their ethnicity! They poison and manipulate you so much that they make you hate your own ethnicity who speaks a different mother tongue from yours and who is your neighbour, friend and even relative. They poison and fix you in the box so much that you become mad and hate and slaughter persons of your own ethnicity occupying the same space with you but speaking different mother tongues from yours, especially during the elections.

In fact, if you are not careful, the 2022 presidential candidates will nail you so firmly in the box that you will forget your own ethnicity yet again and start hating and killing members of your own class ethnicity—just by you foolishly thinking that you are the same ethnicity with those who belong to the class of the rich just because they speak the same mother tongue as you!

I can read the signs and they don't augur well! All this handshake politics appears to be nonsense to me and to be full of

political lies and intrigues. Just another tool of fixing you to serve certain class tribal based political interests. The 2022 presidential candidates are roaming all over the country whipping up and mobilizing tribal sentiments among you and you are entering the box that may consume you in blood. They bank on the fact that you are already confusing their ethnicity to be your ethnicity while forgetting your own ethnicity and your ethnic interests. The heritage of mother tongues complicate class and class struggles among you in the box. In their tribe it is being said that they are plotting to assassinate one another in the fierce 2022 presidential campaigns. If you are not careful, you in the box may be sucked in the bloody political war that is not in your own interest, that of your own ethnicity and Kenya for that matter.

When they talk about handshake and BBI and what not it does not mean that they want to shake hands with you or build bridges with you or between you just because you are in the box cheering them to power. Remember mpanda ngazi na mshuka ngazi hawawezi kushikana mikono!

After you have elected them and their political parties to the national and county Parliaments, who do they go ahead and nominate to County, National and Senate Parliaments? Certainly not you in the box from the ethnicity of the poor of Kenya. ODM, JUBILEE, WIPER, FORD KENYA and ANC political parties nominate their brothers, sisters, wives, girlfriends and class friends. And what of political appointments for state jobs? of course, the same. The political parties in power single out for appointments of top civil servants, parastatals and ambassadors mainly from their blood relatives and class tribes whether men or women. This is how they perpetuate the status quo of their class rule.

To them you from the working classes in the box and who tear each other apart in your own ethnicity, especially during the elections, as you did in 2007/8 and repeated in 2017, thinking you belong to the same ethnicity with them, they use and dump you in the dust bin of poverty, marginalization and backwardness where you will belong to until the next elections or until and unless you get yourselves out of the box. For to them you in the box are mere election statistics and voting machines.

And if you are not aware of this, you are still in the box, let me remind you: they even set aside billions of shillings every year from the national budgets to use to fix you in the box! In other words, they are using your own taxes to fix you in the box of the mentally tired and redundant leadership and their reactionary political system of exploitation and oppression of person by person. This is money that in the spirit of the Constitution of Kenya was meant to build the culture of multiparty democracy in Kenya. Actually, the Political Parties Act of 2007 ensured that the money was shared among all the registered political parties.

But later the right-wing political parties and coalitions in Parliament today feared the robust growth of the culture of multiparty democracy that they believe is a threat to their neoliberal capitalist system at the present time and in the future. Although the Constitution stipulates that Kenya is a multiparty democracy, the political parties in power advocate for few political parties that maintain the capitalists status quo of capitalism and neo-colonialism like those in the UK and USA.

Thus JUBILEE and ODM with their coalition partners Wiper, FORD KENYA and ANC conspired to change the Political Parties Act to ensure that the billions of shillings budgeted for political parties are grabbed by the ruling political parties of the

rich in order to use them to fix you in the box of retaining you as perpetual voters of maintaining the capitalist system and leadership in power. With this illegal arrangement they use your own taxes to ensure that you from your tribe of workers and peasants will only remain voters but will never yourselves be elected to Parliament. They also fix you in the box with your own money to use you and your votes to block those patriots and revolutionaries who fight for your interests and against their political parties from coming to power.

I am reminding you, all of this is because you are fixed in the box so that you are also aware that the money they use to bribe you to elect them to power during the elections is actually your own money. They use your own money to fix you as slaves in the slavery box that they have designed and made for you. You are so fixed in their box that when we tell you this truth you don't listen to us. Or you pretend you know and claim it's not true. You ignore us and accept to sell your dignity, humanity and freedom for fifty, hundred or two hundred shillings! And no sooner have you elected them to Parliament through corruption and stupidity than you start lamenting and condemning them the very next day for forgetting you and for practicing corruption and for making you suffer in poverty, exploitation and oppression!

Yes, unless you get yourselves out of the capitalism box that you are fixed in you will remain in your life of poverty, suffering, backwardness and hopelessness. We shall continue reminding you that capitalism always benefits few people in society while leaving the majority to wallow and languish in perpetual poverty and underdevelopment.

However much you lament, wish, pray or vote you will remain that way until you liberate yourselves and come out of the box of capitalism and its ever-elusive democracy. To come out

of the box means that you must identify your own class ethnicity, unite and remember that you are a human being that must not accept to continue living in the box made for you by capitalism, neo-colonialism and the current leaders of Kenya who only care about themselves, their families and class ethnicity. Getting yourselves out of the box means refusing the present political, economic and social arrangements imposed upon you by the ruling class and their state machine. It means struggling against the capitalist system.

The capitalist system that up to today is imposed upon you has been in Kenya since colonial times. It is the system that was brought to Kenya by European colonialism around 1885 and imposed upon the Kenyan people and communities many of which were at one stage or another of mature communalism mode defined by Julius Nyerere as Ujamaa, which he also considered to be the basis of African socialism.

Colonialism fought and eventually destroyed the communal social relations of equality, social justice and common ownership of the basic means of production, land. Capitalist socio-economic relations based on private property and exploitation and oppression of person by person were violently imposed upon Africans. Colonial capitalism was used by the European settlers and rulers to rob Kenyans of their land, property, exploit their labour, deny them their freedom and human rights and to destroy their cultures based on communal values. The seeds of class inequality existing in the country today and embraced by the leadership in power and that fixes you in the box of the capitalist system were planted and nurtured by colonialism.

The BBI leaders of Kenya and their political parties, whether JUBILEE, ODM, WIPER, ANC, FORD KENYA and their leaders who impose the capitalist system upon you and your class

ethnicity will never liberate you from exploitation and oppression because they themselves are exploiters and oppressors who worship the capitalist God of private property, accumulation and money. They are beneficiaries of the inhuman system that drives the vast majority of Kenyans to live the life of poverty, suffering, backwardness which is unworthy of human beings. I repeat, however many times you elect them and their political parties to power they will never change your conditions for the better. Instead, they will continue to grow richer and richer by stealing public money and property while you continue sinking more and more in the quagmire of poverty, suffering and underdevelopment.

While you are in the box you believe them when they pretend that they are fighting corruption. Yet they embrace the mother of all corruption, capitalism! What can be more corrupt than the system that advocates for private property, class division and exploitation of person by person? What is more corrupt than a system, leadership and political parties that allow few individuals and families to grab, own and retain tens and hundreds of thousands of acres of land throughout the country while millions of people are landless and are forced to live as squatters and in slums in rural and urban areas? They accumulate millions and billions of shillings when the majority of Kenyans cannot save even a shilling and are unable to afford food, house rent, medicine or pay school fees for their children.

The ethnicity of the ruling class live in castles in their exclusive beautiful and environmental friendly suburbs while you in the ethnicity of the poor and exploited are made to dwell in ugly and dirty hovels that are unfit for human habitation…and this is not called corruption! They are not even ashamed to drive their posh cars on dirty and dilapidated roads and streets full of

potholes in all urban areas surrounded by slums. The leaders you keep on listening to everyday and keep on electing and re-electing to power every time regard this system as normal and justify it while calling it civilization and democracy! Yet you in the box believe and support them and their capitalist system as though you are condemned by fate! As if you are not human beings!

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) was formed and registered in order to struggle against the capitalist system in theory and practice. We are patriots and revolutionaries engaged in the battle of ideas with those who impose capitalism and imperialism upon our country and world, the systems which fixes the majority of Kenyans and humanity in the box of reaction. CPK believes that there can never be true liberation, freedom, peace and sustainable security in our country and world as long as capitalism and imperialism dominates the world.

Our planet Earth is itself threatened with total destruction and disappearance as long as the capitalist and imperialist systems continue to dominate the world and impose values and practices of exploitation and oppression of person by person and of nation by nation, of competition over markets, of greed, of grabbing, of looting and of destroying natural resources and the environment, of war and of stockpiling weapons of mass destruction.

Members of CPK will never accept to be locked in the box or to remain silent, unconcerned and inactive while capitalism and its ideology stands on the way of human freedom, liberation and development. CPK will vigorously perform its role in this part of the world called Kenya in the battle against capitalism and imperialism. In this just and progressive struggle we are together and in solidarity with our class ethnicities of Africa and the world for the struggle against capitalism and imperialism is global.

CPK is part and parcel of the international anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist united front.

CPK is committed to the realization of the national values and principles of governance stipulated in Article 10 in the Constitution of Kenya. They are part of the values and principles of socialism that you today fixed in the box wished for yourselves and Kenya but are deliberately violated by the capitalists in power with impunity.

The implementation of the socialist national values and principles would put the country along a sustainable development path that will benefit all citizens and move our country towards sustainable development and social progress.

Kenya has enough human and natural resources to enable all citizens to participate in the development process and to realize the economic and social rights stipulated by the Constitution of Kenya and which are also part and parcel of the minimum demands of CPK. If the annual national budget of three trillion shillings were to be implemented honestly, prudently, equitably and efficiently to realize the intended goals of national planned development, the country would alleviate and ultimately eradicate poverty, gross inequality and underdevelopment within a few years. Every year you people would witness the construction of more and more decent public houses and transport infrastructure including roads, rail and water transport. The government would be able to provide adequate food, education, health services, water, electricity, employment and social security to all Kenyans.

The Constitution of Kenya is progressive in many ways and could be used to bring about many progressive reforms even within the current capitalist system. CPK believes in progressive reforms that are aimed at improving the welfare of the exploited

and oppressed even while being aware that true freedom and liberation of society will only be realized when the capitalist system is replaced by the historically higher, progressive and humane socialist system.

But JUBILEE, ODM, WIPER, ANC, FORD KENYA and their political coalitions do not make the necessary laws for the implementation of the progressive aspects of the Constitution that will improve your present conditions. And when they do they end up deliberately making contradictory laws that they implement more in breach than in observance. Actually, capitalists in power everywhere will always interpret and implement the constitution to serve their class interests that are against that of majority exploited and oppressed.

And now as they prepare to form the Super Alliance capitalist political force to mobilize you in the box to vote to maintain them in political power in 2022, they are organising using the so-called Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) created by President Uhuru and ODM leader Raila Odinga to make you participate in the referendum of creating ruling and eating positions for themselves.

The Building Bridges constitutional amendments, if you vote for them in the referendum they are planning will be mainly about power and position sharing and not about wealth sharing, nation building and empowering you the majority poor and exploited Kenyans to participate in the affairs of your country as equal citizens and human beings. The leaders and their parties and coalitions will not even want to hear about anything in the Bill of the Third Way Alliance that at least proposes some progressive reforms of the Constitution. Instead, they are united in changing the Constitution to perpetuate themselves and their class in power

and to strengthen their democracy that is elusive to you the majority poor and marginalized.

That is why CPK calls upon you to come out of the box and join us in the struggle for socialism. CPK is a vanguard political party that seeks to unite all progressive and patriotic political parties, mass organizations, civil society, movements and other popular formations to struggle for the liberation of Kenya from the present system that prevents the freedom, development, liberation and social progress of our country.

CPK does not believe in utopian socialism but in scientific socialism that will be spearheaded by a vanguard party, guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism applied in the concrete material and historical conditions of Kenya. Socialism will come through class struggle led by the workers and the allies of the working class.

We are, therefore, committed to mobilizing Kenyan workers, peasants and all the progressive and popular forces to join us in the frontline of the struggle for participatory democracy and for socialism. Freedom, liberation and socialism cannot happen spontaneously. That is why we deliberately came together to organize and register CPK in order to consciously organise the working classes and the masses of Kenya to carry out this struggle.

CPK expands and stretches the democratic gains and space won by Kenyans hitherto towards establishing the society envisioned by Article 10 and other progressive articles of the Constitution of Kenya that embody the spirit, wishes and aspirations of the majority of citizens, socialism. CPK is conscious of the fact that realizing these wishes and aspirations of the majority of Kenyans will not happen without bitter class

struggles. CPK invites you to come out of the box and join us in this class struggle.

Getting out of the box means refusing to be used by the reactionary leaders and their political parties to elect and re-elect them to power so that they continue to exploit and oppress you while betraying our country and pushing us deeper and deeper in the quagmire of poverty, debt, dependency and underdevelopment. It means rejecting being used by the so called BBI formation of Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga that is plotting to change the Constitution in order to share political and state positions among themselves and their class and to perpetuate the neo-colonial capitalist system.

Getting out of the box is joining, supporting and working with CPK to struggle to amend the Constitution to consolidate its progressive content won by the masses of Kenya hitherto while demanding for more and more socialist content. It is refusing to be divided, led, exploited, oppressed, robbed and oppressed along tribal lines.

In other words, getting out of the box is waking up from the slumber in the box. It means putting to an end the sitting, lamenting, praying, wishing and expecting that progressive change will somehow emerge from the blues! Instead, it is joining us to work for, organize for, unite for and struggle for progressive and revolutionary change. It is never forgetting that progressive and revolutionary change will and must inevitably lead to socialism.

Getting yourself out of the box is asserting your humanity. It is remembering that you are a human being: an independent, conscious, creative social being. To be a communist is the highest attribute of human being.

THE BASIC NATIONAL CONDITIONS OF KENYA

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK
19 November 2022

Ethnic Composition and Rate in Kenya

Kenya has a diverse population of most major ethnic, racial and linguistic groups in Africa. 92% of the population comprises the Bantu and Nilotic ethnolinguistic groups, with the Cushite consisting mainly of the Somali tribe with 7% and a foreign-rooted population made up of Asians, Arabs and Europeans making up 1% of the population (Wangare, 2022).

Despite this diverse multi-ethnicity of about 42 tribes recorded, the population composition is skewed, with only 20 tribes having more than 200,000 people. The top three tribes comprise almost half, 44.7% of the Kenyan population (Agutu, 2020). With a total population of 47.6 million people, we have Kikuyu with 8.14 million, the Luhya with 6.82 million, and the Kalenjin with 6.35 million, making it 21.32 million.

There are several small tribes with as few as 10,000 people, while some are sub-tribes and clans of a major tribe. For example, the Kalenjin tribe has eight sub-tribes, including the Nandi and Kipsigis, and the Somali tribe has clans rather than subtribes.

The Ethnic Composition of the People of Kenya (Kamer, 2022)

1. *Kikuyu: Bantu, 8.14 million people (17.1% of the population)* located in the Central Highlands and Mount Kenya area.
2. *Luhya: Bantu, 6.82 million people (14.3% of the population)* in Western Kenya. Sub-tribes: Banyala, Banyore, Batsotso, Gisu, Idakho, Isukha, Khayo, Kisa,

Marachi, Marama, Samia, Tachoni, Tiriki, Wanga.

3. *Kalenjin: Nilotic, 6.43 million people (13.4% of the population)* located in the Western Highlands and the Rift Valley. Sub tribes include: Kipsigis, Tugen, Marakwet, Pokot, Keiyo, Sabaot, Terik and Nandi.
4. *Luo: Nilotic, 5 million people (10.7% of the population)* located in Western Kenya, at Lake Victoria.
5. *Kamba: Bantu, 4.6 million people (9.8% of the population)* located in South Eastern and Eastern parts of Kenya.
6. *Somali: Cushite, 2.7 million people (5.8% of the population)* located in Northern and North Eastern parts of Kenya. Clans: Isaak, Galjeel, Leysan
7. *Kisii: Bantu, 2.7 million people (5.7% of the population)* located in Kisii highlands in Western Kenya.
8. *Mijikenda: Bantu, 2.4 million people (5.2% of the population)* in Coastal Kenya. Sub-tribes: Jibana, Rabai, Digo, Giriama, Ribe, Kauma, Duruma, Kambe, Chonyi.
9. *Meru: Bantu, 1.9 million people (4.2% of the population)* located in the North Eastern slopes of Mt Kenya.
10. *Maasai: Nilotic, 1.1 million people (2.5% of the population)* located in the South Rift Valley.
11. *Turkana: Nilotic, 1.1 million people (2.1% of the population)* located in North Western Kenya.
12. *Kenyans of non-indigenous racial groups, 200,000 people (1% of the population)* found in Nairobi, Mombasa, Rift valley and Kisumu. Comprising of Kenyan Arabs from Omani, Yemeni, and Persian traders; Asians from India and Pakistan and Europeans from Britain, Italy and Germany.
13. *Other Kenyan tribes make up 8.2% of the population.*

Include Bantu tribes such as Kuria (sub-tribes – Batimbaru, Bakenye, Bamerani, Baikoma, and Banyamongo), Embu, Suba, Taita, Taveta, Swahili, Mbeere, Tharaka, Bajuni, Orma, and Gosha. Nilotic tribes include Samburu, Nubi, Teso, Ichamis, Njembs and Walwana. And Cushitic tribes such as Rendile, Oromo (sub-tribes – Borana, Galla, Sekuye, Waat), Konso, Gabra, Burgi and Daasanach.

Ethnic Conflict in Kenya

Conflicts in Kenya can be summed up in three ways: tribal flare-ups, political tensions and development eruptions (Rohwerder, 2015).

Tribal flare-ups

Tribal flare-ups are low-level persistent violence incidents among communities competing for resources. They also overlap with intercommunal violence as members of different clans or subtribes engage in these resource-based competitions. Their incidence, gravity and intensity have increased in recent years as the size of grazing, farming land, or fishing has diminished.

As these resources are usually communal spaces left aside for livestock grazing, the farming and fishing population increase and depleting productivity has caused fishermen, herders and livestock owners from different tribes and clans to fight. This results in cattle rustling and raids, theft of fishing boats, or armed exchanges between herders and wildlife guards along national parks and wildlife reservations.

Most tribal flare-ups occur amongst the nomadic and pastoralist communities in the Rift Valley, North Eastern and Eastern Kenya and parts of Western Kenya. The most common in Rift valley occur around Lake Baringo's many nomadic tribes, in Samburu and Laikipia (Nyoni, 2020). There are also tribal and

inter-clan flare-ups in North Eastern and Eastern Kenya; along the Tana River between pastoralists and farmers from the Orma and the Pokomo; and in the western region with clashes between the Luhya and Kalenjin over the rich Mount Elgon area and also between the Sabaot community and Luhya people who have been running battles to expand their land holdings (HRW, 2008).

Political eruptions

Political tensions are cycles of election-related violence caused by intensifying ethnic hatred as political entrepreneurs use ethnic affiliation to manipulate ethnic grievances as a basis for political mobilisation to gain power and control over resources. They do not occur in a vacuum: they fester in areas characterised by socially fragmented communities and partisan politics. Because they come in cycles, their gravity and intensity are hard to pre-determine before an election period. For example, there was little to no eruption during the 2022 election period. This does not mean it cannot happen during the next election cycle. After all, Kenya's 2002 election was very peaceful, and there was total violence in 2007.

The most frequent tensions are among the Kikuyu versus different tribes in different areas. For example, the Kikuyu against the Luo in Nairobi, Naivasha; the Kikuyu versus the Kalenjin in the Rift Valley; the Kalenjin versus the Luhya in Mount Elgon and Coastal tribes and the Kamba versus the Kikuyu in the Coast (Omondi, 2022).

The most notorious political eruptions include the Molo, Burnt Forest clashes, Coastal eruptions, and the 2007/2008 post-election violence.

Resettlements and potential land dispossessions in the Rift Valley area between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin caused the flare-ups in Rift Valley. In the Coastal region, locals who did not

have title deeds fought off new land owners who were alleged to have bought the land illegally: dispossessing the locals to access the mineral and resource-rich land, leading to the displacement of the local communities (Wasike, 2021).

The most infamous political-driven eruptions occur among close-quarter, poor communities in urban centres such as Nairobi, Mombasa and parts of Kiambu counties. This happens in slums and low-income estates such as Likoni in Mombasa. Nairobi's hotspot areas include the slums of Kibra, Mathare, Eastleigh and Kawangware. The conflicts in Githurai usually escalate into Ruiru, Kangemi and Kikuyu in Kiambu county, where the Kikuyu tribe battles with other tribes, mainly the Luo, Luhya and Kamba. These eruptions sweep into the counties depending on the current political alliances. The unique case of the Eastleigh/Mathare neighbourhoods, which have a significant immigrant Somali community and lots of guns, leads to Kenyan versus non-Kenyan, criminal elements that can/have been activated during contentious political times.

It is important to note that for the first time since the multi-party politics of 1992, Kenya saw reduced inter-tribal conflicts caused by political tensions during the 2022 general elections. During these elections, the divisions and tensions went along the socio-economic boundaries rather than tribal elements. Part of that was because the top three tribes were nearly united in a single coalition, and the fourth and fifth stood in another coalition, but with mixed elements of minor members of each other's tribes among the two coalitions (Narrelle et al., 2022).

Development-related conflicts

Development eruptions are conflict dynamics caused by a mixture of systemic issues and regime policies that leave certain groups or communities feeling discriminated against and

marginalised by the government. This discrimination is experienced as communities face exploitation because of Kenya's corrupt state and elite class who operate with impunity and lack of justice for their corrupt and exploitative activities. Another cause of violence is the rising case of land and development projects where community land and resources are sold off or grabbed by the rich and connected individuals without proper compensation for the local owners.

These eruptions are the new trend of conflicts that have started since the Kibaki administration—Kenya's third political regime—went on a long-term development project, the discovery of oil reserves and other mapped development programs. These plans set out speculative buyers who bought off resource-rich communal land without consulting the community members or by obtaining the title deeds in a corrupt manner. The new landowners, who had the money and resources, did so to take advantage of the local resources leading to conflicts with the local communities who felt cheated out of their resources and lands (Gatehouse, 2012).

New conflicts are emerging in the Lamu and Tana River areas due to the ongoing construction of the Lamu Port, Lamu-Ethiopia highway and the oil-rich regions of North Eastern provinces affecting the Garissa, Marsabit and Wajir areas (Triche, 2014). We have long-running labour tensions between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu estate owners. They employ low-end workers from the Luo, Luhya and Kisii communities to work in large tea and flower plantations in Kericho and Naivasha. When the workers settle in semi-formal homes or purchase property, it creates tensions. Garissa county has massive insecurity that tapers off after conflict between quarter million refugees from Somalia and Ethiopia as land and resources are overextended.

The Class Structure of Kenya:

Proportion of Petty-Bourgeoisie, Proletariat, National Bourgeoisie and Comprador Bourgeoisie

The proportion of petty bourgeoisie, workers, and the bourgeoisie had mainly remained well proportioned, growing steadily since independence up to the 1990s. However, this trend changed twice in the last three decades (Kamau, 2021).

From 1990-2002, Kenya experienced tremendous economic decline and massive retrenchment. As a result, the poverty levels increased as the small businesses, and informal sector died. With it, the purchasing power declined, social amenities were cut off, and utility services became irregular, leading to the manufacturing industry's death. During this time, the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie rose as the politically connected swooped to the international broker; with the recently privatised public services (social institutions and utility companies) and massive corruption, the class entrenched themselves in the country's social, political and economic life. This condition can also be attributed to the Structural Adjustments Plans that were imposed on the Kenyan people by twin Breton Woods institutions—World Bank and IMF

From 2003-2013, Kenya enjoyed positive economic growth as the middle class and the public sectors also expanded. As a result, the working class increased as jobs in the informal and formal sectors grew. With capital, improved structures in government/service delivery and expansion of the public sector, the petty, national and comprador bourgeoisie solidified their ground. They benefitted from the increased purchasing power of the Kibaki era (WB, 2022).

In the 2013-2022 era, Kenya enjoyed a declining economic condition among the working class despite devolution and

positive economic growth. This is because of the rise of the petty bourgeoisie, where the middle-class workers and professionals employed during the Kibaki era took advantage of the economic growth to become brokers and landlords without producing anything. As a result, the economy became speculative, spurred by massive corruption, which was doubled as both country and national government employees competed to steal from the public (USAID, 2022).

This led to an impoverished working class—unable to meet their basic needs—as the speculative, non-productive economy set by the petty bourgeoisie went mainstream. Every year, unemployment, cost of living and poverty levels increased until Kenya's massive income, and wealth inequality rose so much that Kenya shot from 120 to 158 most unequal society and 12 in terms of corruption.

With the Ruto administration of 2022, Kenya's prospects are expected to worsen (Anyanzwa, 2022) as Ruto is projected to turbo-charge corruption to pay off his friends and supporters. Coupled with a world undergoing an economic recession, this state is expected to continue for the foreseeable future unless there is a drastic change in the system (Omondi, 2022).

Definition of Terms for the Kenyan Class Structure

The Petite Bourgeoisie

This class includes government employees, teachers, police, small shop urban and rural land owners, professionals et al. This class is envious of the bourgeoisie life. So, they mimic the bourgeoisie lifestyle, and even though they have minimal chances to develop into the full bourgeoisie, they have illusions of being part of the owning class someday.

Many set up side hustles or businesses outside their 'government' or regular job to fulfil their goal. As a result, this

class is massively corrupt as they seek government contracts and chase 'deals' to strike it rich. Their underperformance at work actively contributes to poverty and social disenfranchisement.

Workers - the Proletariat

This is the industrial/plantation worker who has nothing except his wife and children and who must sell his labour power to live. This is the class of the future, the revolutionary class. This class has the potential to provide revolutionary leadership in alliance with peasants and intellectuals.

Kenyan workers who are employed regularly can have formal or informal contracts, enjoy little to no benefits, and come in three separate categories: In the first category, we have casual and day jobs like construction, factories, flower farms and other seasonal farm or manufacturing jobs. The second category is daily workers in retail, transport and *jua kali* jobs in the informal sector but paid monthly. The third category is monthly workers working in industries or plantations with permanent contracts. These include supervisory and management-level employment in industries and the corporate sector—professionals in accounting, engineering, health, a vet in their set-ups or small agencies.

Peasants

Kenyans who earn a living under this category can be employed or self-employed and have no contracts and or worker benefits. Small-scale, subsistent farmers in rural Kenya who practice agrarian farming. They have no other source of income except their small farms and face diminishing returns every new year due to climate change and population growth, leading to smaller plots of land for every subsequent generation. They are not mechanised and practice poor, traditional farming or herding methods, which are unprofitable.

National Bourgeoisie

These are the propertied class; they own the means of production locally, have competing interests with the international bourgeoisie, and both compete for the local markets, raw materials and labour power.

With the continued rule of Finance Capital even after the independence in 1963, it has been challenging to develop a fully-fledged "national bourgeoisie" with a national capital capable of developing national capitalism in Kenya. They are a tiny, spineless fraction whose existence is limited daily by the presence of the international bourgeoisie. They have a diminutive national capital which they use to exploit labour in the home market; it has sharp contradictions with the international bourgeoisie as it sees it as a stumbling block for its capital expansion.

Comprador Bourgeoisie

These are conveyor belts of the international bourgeoisie; they prolong the dependency through the extension of metropolitan economic interests to Kenya; they produce nothing but form part of the owning class through the brokerage of the national economy to foreign interests. They may own some semblance of shares in the multinationals as well. They also form the political class; now, they are the primary enemy that we must fight and defeat.

The comprador class are local reactionaries who are directly linked with Imperialism. In the neocolonial state, they are the intermediary class that act as agents of International Finance Capital and are subservient to the International bourgeoisie/Financial Oligarchy. They own diminutive capital that is not "national" but interlinked with foreign finance Capital; some are engaged in import/export trade and even small

industrial and agricultural production as subsidiary activities. Another section in this class is the top military and government functionaries (bureaucratic bourgeoisie), this section of the comprador class is engaged with the management of the instruments of the State; they do not have control of the state but are mere managers of the instruments of the neo-colonial state in Kenya, they represent a committee that serves and protect the interests of the whole bourgeoisie. They have no muscles to develop productive forces in Kenya and will always remain subservient to international monopolies and oligarchies on whom they depend.

International Bourgeoise

These are wealthy foreigners who own companies, part of the international oligarchy, mainly multinationals in the extractive and plantation sector.

(See table on next page)

Proportion of Workers			
Type	**Types**	**Number**	**Proportion**
Peasants/Rural Petty Bourgeoisie: (9m, 39%)	Farmers	7,500,000	32.28%
	Domestic	1,500,000	6.46%
Proletariat (7.8m, 34%)	Category 1	2,100,000	9.04%
	Category 2	1,800,000	7.75%
	Category 3	1,500,000	6.46%
	Category 4	2,400,000	10.33%
Urban Petty Bourgeoisie (5.4m, 23%)	Supervisory in corporate and industry	1,750,000	7.53%
	Professionals agencies	850,000	3.66%
	Government Group C4	2,150,000	9.25%
	Management and Directors NGOs	650,000	2.80%
National and Comprador Bourgeoisie (1.035m, 4%)	Business owners and MNC Directors	120,000	0.52%
	Corporate Suite C	80,000	0.34%
	Government	800,000	3.44%
	Charitable and religious owners	35,000	0.15%
		23,235,000	**100.00%**

Analysis of the Political Structure:

The situation of the ruling Party

The ruling Party is a coalition between UDA, President Ruto's Party and other smaller ethnic parties like ANC and Ford; together, individuals from prominent ethnic groups form the Kenya Kwanza Alliance. After winning the presidency, William Ruto also recruited several independent candidates who won their seats. This led his coalition to achieve a majority in Parliament and the Senate.

In the Lower Chambers, the National Assembly, Kenya Kwanza Alliance has 179 of 349 seats and the opposition—Azimio la Umoja—has 158 seats. 12 Independent candidates

have not aligned to either coalition. The opposition, Azimio la Umoja, is also a Coalition of Parties comprised of ODM, Jubilee and Wiper.

In the Upper chambers, the Senate is split in the middle. Both coalitions have 33 members, although the Kenya Kwanza Alliance coalition has the Speaker role. There is a vacant position to be filled by Azimio la Umoja.

In the County Governments, the Coalitions are also dead-tied. Kenya Kwanza Alliance has 23 governors after bringing in an independent governor—Meru's Kawira Mwangaza—to join the coalition post-election. Azimio la Umoja coalition won 23 seats during the elections. There is an independent governor allied with the Communist Party of Kenya, Taita Taveta's Governor.

The Country's Key Economic Sectors Are in the Hands of Foreign Capital

Sector	Largest owners	Notes
Agriculture	Foreign capital	British settlers
Tourism	Foreign capital	Investors, Europeans
Manufacturing	Foreign capital	Asian, British
Transport and Infrastructure	Monopolies	Buses, engineering KQ
Information and communications technology	Monopolies	Three main
Building and Construction	Mixed – competitive	Mixed investment
Financial services	Competitive	Mixed, a publicly traded
Energy services	Monopolies	Monopolies.

Socio-Economic Overview

Note: All currencies are in Kes.

Average monthly income levels by occupation				
Occupation	**Category 1**	**Category 2**	**Category 3**	**Category 4**
Worker wage	Domestic: 5,000/-	Farm: 10,000/-	Construction: 12,000/-	Industry: 15,000/-
Worker – salary	Transport 18,000/-	Retail: 15,000/-	Industry: 25,000/-	Industry 2: 40,000/-
Farmer	Family land: 3,000/-	Commercial 1 - modern: 10,000/-	Commercial mechanised: 100,000/-	Commercial estate: 600,000/-
Teacher	Primary: 20,000/-	Secondary: 35,000/-	College: 50,000/-	University: 100,000/-
Soldier	Police: 30,000/-	Soldier: 40,000/-		
General enterprise staff	Apprentice: 20,000/-	Artisan: 40,000/-	Skilled 1: 60,000/-	Expert: 150,000/-
Civil servant	Entry, low-skilled: 12,000/-	Skilled: 35,000/-	Supervisory, 50,000/-	Managerial, 115,000/-

Basic Price Level

ITEM	Nairobi	Mombasa, Kisumu	Eldoret, Meru	Nakuru, Nyeri, Machakos
Staple food – maize/kg	170	200	150	150
Staple food – beans/kg	200	250	150	180
Staple food – Cabbage/head	120	120	80	100
Staple food – tomatoes/kg	100	150	80	100
Staple food – Sukuma wiki Bunch	30	50	30	30
Staple food – meat beef/kg	500	600	500	450
Staple food – Milk/litre	120	150	80	100
Staple food – Bananas/kg	80	120	60	80
Staple food – Potatoes/kg	120	150	100	80
Drinking water – borehole/20 litres	25	30	20	20
Drinking water – fresh 1/liter	100	120	100	50
The price of public transport rate/km	30	20	15	15
Medical consultation – public	250	250	250	100

ITEM	Nairobi	Mombasa, Kisumu	Eldoret, Meru	Nakuru, Nyeri, Machakos
Medical consultation – private	1,000	1,200	750	500
House				
Bedsitter	7,000	5,000	4,000	5,000
One-bedroom	15,000	12,000	10,000	10,000
Two bedrooms	25,000	20,000	15,000	20,000
Three bedrooms	35,000	25,000	28,000	30,000
Four bedrooms	55,000	40,000	35,000	54,000
Clothes	**T-shirts**	**Trouser**	**Shirts**	**Sweater**
Clothes -children newborn, new	400	600	500	350
Clothes -children newborn, second hand	50	100	50	50
Clothes - children under ten new	400	1,000	700	800
Clothes - children under 10-second hand	150	400	300	250
Clothes – 10-18 new	500	1,200	900	900
Clothes – 10-18 second hand	200	600	500	400
Clothes - adult new	500	2,000	1,200	1,200
Clothes - adult second hand	300	700	500	500

Third Basic Information of CPK

The sum number and composition of Party members, the membership stands at a paltry 46,700 members

Occupation	Worker	Peasants	Scholar	Student	Civil-Servant	Soldier	Full-time revolutionary	others
Proportion	30%	44%	1%	10%	4%	4%	5%	2%

Organisation of Workers

There are several Worker's associations in Kenya. Most are organised for work and labour collective bargaining based on their employers, and others are organised on social welfare concerns, mainly to save for their future. With most workers not enjoying the national retirement schemes, these welfare schemes

introduce a culture of savings and passive income (Owidhi, 2022).

Trade unions face internal and external threats, which have weakened them and, in turn, weakened the plight of Kenyan workers. The most significant external threat has been the continuous suppression and undermining of activities of trade unions by the government of Kenya and employer federations. In the past, the trade unions could mobilise and fight against these threats, putting the worker's rights and grievances and leading resistance to the political and employment regimes that infiltrated them and banned some existence.

Since the British colonial rule, when trade unions stood up to the colonial exploiters, trade unions have significantly impacted the social and welfare rights of workers in Kenya. This trend persisted across all successive regimes: we had Makhan Sign, a revolutionary trade unionist of Asian origin who was driven to bankruptcy by the Kenyan state. He died young, at only 59 years old. Makhan remains one of the most prominent leaders in the trade union movement fighting for workers' rights. Tom Mboya, a CIA agent, was a lethal man who was used to disrupt the organisation of labour unions and make them an appendage to the Kenyan state; the same CIA and the Kenyan government assassinated him. Traditionally, trade unions were part of the opposition leaders fighting in the second liberation, and many faced political and economic suppression (Sindabi, 2011).

Things changed during the Kibaki administration. The administration took a different capitalist approach that sought to suppress and undermine trade unions from within. As a result, they collaborated with the trade union leaders, with reports of bribery, non-persecution and freedom to retain their lofty positions and leadership roles while lining their pockets. As a

result, trade unions became get-rich movements for operators who could win local elections. The dilution of the power of trade unions has led to the declining influence of workers in resistance to poor leadership and little-to-no collective bargaining and enabled state corruption. The trade unions have become diluted versions of themselves: issuing lame press releases on corruption and so weakened that the government and the federation of Kenyan employers no longer feel it should attend or listen to its issues because, at the end of the day, there is nothing they can do to the employers or the government (Imende, 2019).

Today, all trade unions and other labour and collective bargaining associations are toothless collaborators whose leaders work for the employers to make symbolic gestures. At the same time, workers are forced to pay union dues that only go to meet the upkeep of the self-serving union leaders.

Communist Youth League

The youth wing of the Communist Party of Kenya is the Young Communist League of the Communist Party of Kenya. The Young Communist League (YCL) of Kenya is a voluntary mass organisation for the youth. YCL is the militant wing of the Communist Party of Kenya. Founded in 2019, YCL is a non-tribal, non-sexist youth organisation with open membership to young people committed to the emancipation of the working class, the peasants and other oppressed people in Kenya and around the globe (YCL, 2018).

YCL is devoted to transforming the economic system of Kenya from capitalism to socialism in which there exists no institutional oppression of one person against another. The Marxist-Leninist ideology guides all its policies, programs and activities.

Members obtain general and scientific knowledge on socialism to enhance their ability to serve the people, promote new socialist ways and customs, and advocate communist ethics. They are called to step forward and fight bravely to defend the interest of the masses, to act consciously to reverse the damaging effects of tribalism and to oppose all forms of discrimination. YCL recognises the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) as its mother. YCL draws its life from the Communist Party of Kenya and enjoys political and ideological guidance from the Party.

Party Organisations in the Countryside

The Party has a solid rural organisation, mainly in the western and coastal regions. The Party has been leading peasants' revolts and movements of the landless for the last three years. There is still no military or armed units in the rural areas, but there are plans to start this process when the conditions allow immediately. The rural regions organise both socio-economic and political. The party members do table banking to empower them economically; they also engage in communal farming to produce food and participate in the Party's ideological school through learning. They also organise demonstrations to challenge corrupt politicians. The Party has two factions; one faction supports the Kenyan government and believes in class collaboration, and on the left, we have a revolutionary faction that firmly believes in the class struggle and is advancing revolutionary organising among the oppressed strata of Kenyan society.

THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENT LEADERS: THE SHIFTING PARADIGMS OF PERSPECTIVES AND ROLES OF STUDENT LEADERS

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP

Speech at the induction workshop of Student Leaders of Pwani University

24 April 2014

1. Introduction

To begin with, I thank Pwani University administration, staff and students for inviting me to participate in this important workshop. I also take this opportunity to thank the students of the university, the university administration and the entire university community for organizing and executing peaceful and successful student elections on March 7th 2014. Indeed, this is a big step forward towards building the much needed culture of democracy—and academic freedom embodied in it—in our institutions of higher learning.

2. The premises of the notes

In preparation for this discussion, I made a few notes that I will now present to you. These notes are based on the following premises:

- That students have a constitutional and legal right and duty to organize and form student organizations;
- That university administrations are obliged to encourage and facilitate the formation of student organizations;
- That student organizations are not only necessary for smooth relations between students, lecturers and university administrations but also foster the culture of democracy and

peace in educational institutions in particular and in the country in general;

- That student organizations can be fertile training ground of organizing peaceful elections and nurturing the culture of democracy and preparing present and future good leaders of the country;
- That academic freedom is invaluable in implementing the role of university education which is to train and provide knowledge and various skills and ultimately to build individuals who are capable of thinking consciously, independently and creatively. The ultimate goal of university education is to create a better human being who is not only endowed with the necessary skills for his/her development and that of society but also—and most importantly—with high moral and cultural values and who is capable of making a contribution to make Kenya and the world better than it is today materially and spiritually.
- Academic freedom means freedom of expression, association, civic and political liberties. Lack of academic freedom impedes research and the growth of knowledge, creates zombies instead of useful human beings and is fertile ground for conflicts within universities and outside universities;
- With the defeat of dictatorship in Kenya, the achievement of multiparty democracy and the Constitution of Kenya, all institutions—including institutions of higher learning like universities—must participate in building and nurturing the culture of democracy and peaceful means of conflict resolutions. This culture should be deliberately imparted to the youth in the universities. Universities must be in the forefront in consolidating the democratic and human rights

gains this country has made hitherto; they must participate in exposing any attempts of returning Kenya to the reactionary past. Condemning and fighting the violations of human rights still going on in the country and for struggling for the realization of more democracy, more human rights, more freedom and development in our country should and must be the duty of universities;

I congratulate Pwani University for traveling along the path of realizing all this as is evidenced by this workshop that has been taking place for several days.

3. The role of student organizations and student leaders

Student organizations are elected bodies that are formed—many times through the laws of various education institutions—for representing and articulating the interests of students. In democratic universities, student leaders are elected officers of the student organizations. Many a time student organizations and leaders act as a bridge of dialogue between the student population, lecturers and university administration. That is why disallowing or sabotaging student organizations within a university is reactionary as it results in planting the seeds of anarchy and conflicts within the universities by destroying the mechanism of solving disputes and conflicts amicably and peacefully.

Nurturing true democratically elected student leaders provides a platform of progressive relations between students and university administrations while fostering academic freedom necessary for free flow of knowledge.

In summary, student leaders must play the following roles, among others:

- Champion, defend, articulate and represents the interests of students in the university;

- Provide leadership among students. In this regard, students leaders should be examples of discipline, principles, diligence, academic performance and high and humane moral values;
- Be a bridge of dialogue between students on one hand and university administration, lecturers and staff on the other hand;
- Organizing various welfare programs of making the university to be as interesting to students as possible;
- Organizing seminars, symposiums and public lectures in the university of discussing academic matters and current national and international affairs;
- Providing platforms of critical thinking and expression in the university;
- Struggling to build a good image of the university in Kenya and the world through creativity and all forms of initiatives;
- Organizing activities of enhancing students' participation in the struggles of realizing a just, peaceful and humane world order;
- Offering solidarity to people in the world struggling for freedom from all kind of oppression of person by person or nation by nation.

4. Challenges of student leaders

4.1. Reflection of the past

Student leaders have always faced various challenges during their times. During our times, student leaders operated under the dictatorship of one party system. Although the University of Nairobi Act articulated the right of the existence of student organization in the university, still this was realized more in the breach than the observance. The Moi/KANU government and

university administrations used all means possible to frustrate the forming of a true student organization. It took a long, bitter and protracted struggle by student leaders to form Student Organization Nairobi University (SONU). During that period student leaders were expelled from the university, arrested, tortured and forced into exile. The persecution of students and particularly students' leaders was the order of the day.

The challenge of student leaders in the era of dictatorship was to make sacrifices of leading the students to struggle against dictatorship within the university and in Kenya in general amidst organized persecution by the state. Under the Moi/KANU dictatorship, there was more democracy within the universities than outside the universities—thanks to the struggles of students and student's leaders. It is an irony that when Kenya is building the culture of democracy enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya, I have observed in many cases that there is more freedom and democracy outside the universities than within the universities, not to speak of tribalism, corruption and crime! This is a very big shame indeed!

I am happy that Pwani University is away from this reactionary path of fearing and frustrating academic freedom and returning the backward culture of the past. Once more I mention that this workshop is a good indication and a plus to the administrators of our Pwani University. The invitation extended to me to talk to you is a further testimony of the progressive path your university has chosen to travel on.

4.2. The challenges of student leaders today

Since you are students and students' leaders today, I am sure you know better about the challenges of students' leaders than me. In these notes, I can only single out my observations from the point of view of a keen former student leader, researcher and

progressive politician who is concerned about the crisis of leadership facing our country. I observe the following challenges facing student leaders in Kenyan universities today that I suggest you elected student leaders of Pwani university that have been participating in this workshop should and must address:

- Restoring the good name of student leaders that existed in the history of university education in the country;
- Restoring the good name of university students;
- Ensuring that you are student leaders and not "university prefects";
- Ensuring that you represent students' interests and NOT selfish interests;
- Fighting tribalism and all forms of discrimination of person by person;
- Making sure that the culture of indiscipline, corruption, immorality, carelessness, etc. does not find place among the students of Pwani University;
- Sustaining the culture of democracy, peace and dialogue between students and lecturers and university administration;
- Defending academic freedom at all cost;
- Contributing to make Pwani University the best place to pursue university educations;
- Leading by example;
- Being an example of good and capable leadership to the Kenyan youth and also the best example of students' leadership in Kenya;
- Contributing to reminding your fellow students that, ultimately, they are at the university not only to pursue

knowledge and acquire necessary skills, but to become better human beings capable of changing Kenya and the world for the better;

- Leave a good name as students' leaders and student organization when you finish your time.

Acknowledgement

Once more I thank you students' leaders, lecturers, administration and the entire community of Pwani University for giving me the privilege of participating in this workshop. To the students' leaders, I once more congratulate you for being elected and wish you good leadership.

A CALL TO KENYANS TO REJECT THE PRIVATISATION OF STATE-OWNED ASSETS

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK

5 September 2020

In the midst of the Coronavirus Pandemic, the Jubilee Government has been making bold moves and attempts at privatising public-owned bodies. On 20th of April 2020, the Principal Secretary for Tourism and Wildlife, Ms Safina Kwekwe Tsungu ordered the closure of the Kenya Utalii College[1] on the grounds that "the college and its hotel could not raise money for operations." She further stated that the College would be closed down until the Ministry develops a "profitable operational plan." According to the Ministry, "the government took the decision because the hotel had become a liability as it does not generate revenue."

In the month of May, the Dock Workers Union exposed a plan by the Kenya Ports Authority (KPA) to privatise berths number 4, 7 and 8 at the Mombasa Port, to the detriment of the Kenyan workers and the Kenyan people.[2] KPA defended itself by stating that it has not privatised the berths, but it had only

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[1] 'Utalii College and Hotel, Campuses Shut' (*Daily Nation*, 2020) <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Utalii-College-and-hotel--campuses-shut/1056-5531932-f6huo8z/index.html> accessed 25 July 2020.

'End of an Era as Prestigious Utalii Hotel Closes Its Doors - People Daily' (*People Daily*, 2020) <https://www.pd.co.ke/business/trade-and-industry/end-of-an-era-as-prestigious-utalii-hotel-closes-its-doors-34044/> accessed 25 July 2020.

[2] 'KPA, Union in Exchange over Port Privatization Claims' (*The Star*, 2020) <https://www.the-star.co.ke/business/kenya/2020-05-14-kpa-union-in-exchange-over-port-privatization-claims/> accessed 25 July 2020.

Philip Beja, 'Workers Warn of Plans to Make Port Private' (*The Standard*, 2020) <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2001370732/workers-warn-of-plans-to-make-port-private> accessed 25 July 2020.

"leased out and outsourced the berths and the sheds to private operators for the purposes of efficiency."

On 2nd July 2020, the local dailies reported that the Ministry of Agriculture had finalised plans to revive the sugar sector by "writing off debts of State-owned mills and out-grower institutions, stopping the importation of brown sugar, and commencing the privatisation of the factories through a long-term lease model of at least 20 years." Among the state-owned mills earmarked for privatisatisation through the planned leasing include Nzoia Sugar, Chemilil, South Nyanza, Miwani and Muhoroni sugar mills.[3]

The Privatisation Onslaught Has Been Ongoing

The privatisation onslaught on these and other public entities has been in the pipeline since the formation of the Privatisation Commission over a decade ago. It is no secret that the successive governments have always wanted to sell off Utalii College and Hotel to the capitalists who control the tourism sector. The Mombasa port has been privatised piece by piece since 2002 in the name of outsourcing handling and non-core services. The veiled beneficiaries are said to be politicians and business people linked to the Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki, Odinga and Joho families among other individuals who acquired their current wealth by stealing and allocating themselves public owned assets, awarding themselves fat government tenders, funding their private business interest through preferential and concessional debt from state corporations such as Kenya Industrial Estates (KIE), Development Bank of Kenya (DBK) Industrial and Commercial

[3] 'Rai among Bidders for Five State Sugar Firms' (*Business Daily*, 2020) <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/economy/Rai-among-bidders-for-five-State-sugar-firms/3946234-5604008-gqy0koz/index.html> accessed 25 July 2020.

Development Corporation (ICDC) and Industrial Development Bank (IDB). Basically, through thievery and other questionable means.

The privatisation of almost all the sugar companies has been on the table since 2007, and the only stumbling block for the capitalists has been the courageous and continued resistance from the communities where these sugar mills are located.

Since the enactment of the Privatisation Act in 2005, Kenyans have been robbed of several valuable parastatals including the Kenya Electricity Generating Company KENGEN (2006), Kenya Railways Corporation (2006), Telkom Kenya (2007), Mumias Sugar Company (2006), Kenya Reinsurance Corporation (2007) and Safaricom (2008).

Many other publicly owned entities are in the process of being privatised and they include the National Bank of Kenya (whose process is now almost complete through the takeover by Kenya Commercial Bank), Consolidated Bank of Kenya, Development Bank of Kenya, East African Portland Cement Company, Kenya Wine Agencies Limited, Agro-Chemical and Food Company, Numerical Machining Complex, Kenya Meat Commission, several State owned hotels including those that the State owns majority/controlling shares including Hilton Hotel, Intercontinental Hotel, Mountain Lodge Hotel, Ark Hotel Nyeri, Sunset Hotel, Kabarnet Hotel, Mount Elgon Lodge, Kenya Safari Lodges and Hotels, just to mention a few.

IPOs, PPPs and Direct Sale

The excuses provided when the capital owning class wants to privatise an entity varies with the status of the entity. If it wants to privatise a profit-making and efficiently-run parastatal like Safaricom and KENGEN, it will claim that it wants all Kenyans

to enjoy the profits that these companies make, and they usually use the "Initial Public Offer" route.

Through initial public offers, it is argued that every Kenyan (including those who cannot afford a decent meal) gets an equal chance to purchase some share of the parastatal, where they will directly enjoy the dividends arising therefrom. What the drivers of capitalism in the Kenyan government do not tell Kenyans is that the Parastatal is actually being stolen from all Kenyans, and being appropriated in the hands of a few individuals who can afford billions worth of shares in these companies. The equal chance of ownership in reality is the equal chance for the rich class, and not equality for all.

When they want to privatise a profit-making entity, but which is at the same time marred by corruption and/or inefficiency, or where they can foresee strong opposition from the masses, they use the Public Private Partnership (PPP) route. This includes leases, out-sourcing, concessions, and lease/build & own/run-operate models. Examples here include leasing of Cargo handling services at the Kenya Ports Authority and at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, the first privatisation of Kenya Railways, outsourcing of security and cleaning services in majority of the public institutions and even outsourcing human resource functions in some of the state bodies.

Through PPPs, the masses are hoodwinked and told that the private entity is there not to steal from them, but to root out corruption and increase efficiency in the institution. In reality, the private entity, whose sole aim is profit, ends up sacking workers, overworking and mistreating the retained workers, reducing the benefits that the workers get, and employing all short-cuts that will help them achieve their ultimate goal; Profit! In such arrangements, the government (public) gets to foot any losses or

heavy investments that might come up along the way. Basically, the first P (Public) suffers any losses and investment costs, while the second P (private), runs away with all profits at zero risks!

Thirdly, if a Parastatal is run down through mismanagement, cronyism, sabotage or any other reason, the route they choose is that of sale, either by auction, offers, or through strategic sale, and sometimes through concessions/long term leases. Some good examples here include the privatisation of Kenya Railways and Telkom Kenya. In most cases, as is the case in the intended privatisation of the Sugar Mills and the Hotels, the Government (basically Kenyans) is forced to foot all the losses, and sometimes billions of taxpayers' money are used to overhaul the corporation before sale, or are extended to the would be buyer as some form of incentive. Whereas the logical thing to do to a mismanaged entity is to manage it better, the capitalists prefer to use the mismanagement as an excuse to privatise the national entity in question.

Mismanagement and sabotage of state corporations is sometimes done deliberately, with the long-term aim of privatising those corporations. For example, whereas Utalii Hotel and other state-owned hotels are struggling to stay financially afloat, the Government continues to spend billions of shillings in meetings and retreat expenditure in big private-owned hotels year in year out. It would be prudent if the capacity of the state owned/controlled hotels was first exhausted before such services are sourced from private hotels!

The Kenya Pipeline Corporation (KPC) is one of the largest companies in the region. KPC has an asset base of sh136 billion, and it made profits of 12.4 billion and 11.5 billion in 2018 and 2017 respectively. However, rather than bank with state owned banks like Consolidated Bank and Development Bank of Kenya,

KPC has local and foreign currency accounts at Barclays, Commercial Bank of Kenya, Standard Chartered, Citi NA, Equity, KCB and CFC Stanbic banks. The University of Nairobi, which has an asset base of over 4 billion, has Barclays Bank as its principal banker. The story is the same for most parastatals. In other words, the Government transacts billions of shillings with private institutions thereby starving state owned corporations of the much-needed money, and when these state-owned institutions get into financial troubles, the Government claims mismanagement among other excuses, and then it sells these corporations to private individuals, starts doing business with the now private company, and the turnaround is attributed to privatisation and not Government support!

Parastatals Are Not For-Profit Making Organisations

In the final analysis, parastatals are not profit-making bodies. The role of parastatals is to provide accessible, quality and affordable services to all Kenyans, especially the majority poor. Parastatals act as protectors of the masses from exploitation by the private entities. They are tools and pillars of nation building. Further, parastatals and other public entities act as a balance in the 'market', and they provide employment, and build local capacity through education, import substitution etc. The privatisation of state-owned assets is a direct threat to the prosperity and inclusive development in this country.

The Kenya Utalii College for example was a brainchild of the (in)famous sessional paper number 10 of 1965 (African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya) where it was decided that a "training school for hotel, restaurant and lodge managers and workers" would be established, so as to promote tourism, conservation thereby creating employment and increasing hard currency among other benefits. The College has

since its inception produced highly qualified, competent and confident workers in the hospitality and related fields. It has not only provided affordable training opportunities for Kenyans, but many students from across Africa compete to get admission at Utalii College. The quest for profit was never a reason why the College and Hotel were created.

It is unimaginable if the same "profit" argument would be extended to all other public institutions. If the Ministry of Health decided to open or close the Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH) on the grounds of profitability, the Hospital would have been closed long time ago. On the other hand, Kenyans should be very worried when they hear that a public corporation, whose main goal is to offer services to all, is instead making profits. The question would be, at whose cost were the profits made? In the example of KNH, it would mean that patients are charged more, so that the hospital makes more profits. It would also mean that workers are paid less and overworked so that profit can be made. This would then translate to the hospital becoming inaccessible to the poor, and hostile to its workers.

This obsession with profits has even crept into the public universities, which are now required to stay profitable otherwise they risk collapsing. Higher education has been transformed into a business, where colleges compete to offer "marketable" courses instead of courses that are needed for the benefit of the people and the Country. The consequences can be seen in the downgrading of practical/technical courses, the reduction in the quality of teaching, reduced funding for research, and the production of graduates who might not be very useful to the society.

Kenyans must reject Privatisation in all its forms. Privatisation is the appropriation of public wealth into the hands

of a few. Privatisation means unemployment and poor working conditions. Privatisation leads to poverty. Privatisation, as socialists have insisted over the years, is theft. The Communist Party of Kenya therefore calls on all workers, all unions and all patriotic Kenyans to oppose the ongoing and planned privatisations, and to further demand for the re-nationalisation of the previously privatised corporations at the cost of all those who masterminded and benefited from those privatisations.

ALL KENYAN WORKERS: UNITE AGAINST THE EMPLOYMENT OF CIVIL SERVICE WORKERS ON CONTRACT

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
20 June 2019

The Government of Kenya is planning to start employing civil servants on a three-year-contract basis. The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) strongly condemns and completely rejects this reactionary plan, and further calls upon all civil servants, all workers and all exploited and oppressed Kenyans to fiercely unite against it.

The CPK has information that this scheme is part of the harsh conditionalities in the loan agreement recently signed between the Government of Kenya and the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The twin Bretton Woods institutions took advantage, like they always do, of a Kenya government that borrows too much and a Kenya government that makes exaggerated and unrealistic national budgets like the one that was presented this month by the Finance Cabinet Secretary, Mr Henry Rotich, to impose those structural adjustment policies in the agreement.

In other words, the JUBILEE and handshake government mismanages the national economy through rampant corruption, greed, incompetence and failed capitalist policies, then it shifts the blame and the burden to the Kenyan workers!

The government is lying to the country when it claims that the decision to employ civil servants on contract is to address the problem of the huge and stampeding wage bill. The capitalist business persons and their ideologues in power claim that employing civil servants on permanent and pensionable basis is the reason why the country lacks enough funds for development

which in turn is forcing the government to keep on borrowing and compromising the freedom of the country to foreign interests.

The truth of the matter is that the civil service workers, the vast majority of who are paid very small wages, allowances, pensions and other benefits are NOT responsible for the high and escalating wage bill. The truth is that it is the top echelon of the government executive functionaries, the members of Parliament, the plethora of multiple constitutional commissions, the top brass of military and security personnel, the heads of parastatals etc, who are responsible for the large wage bill. They are paid—or they pay themselves—wages, allowances, pensions and benefits that are hundreds times more than that of the majority of civil service workers.

Furthermore (and more importantly), the wages, allowances, pensions and any other benefits that the civil service workers receive are their rights, rights that they have won through their labour and through hard, bitter and protracted struggles. They are not privileges given to them by the government or employers so that can they be taken away from them whenever the government decides to.

Workers will not and must not accept their rights to permanent employment and pensions to be tampered with or snatched from them by those who have mismanaged, looted and destroyed the national economy and continue to do so just because they are in power today.

Allowing the government to employ civil servants on contract is a dress rehearsal for allowing the private sector not only to follow suit but also to abrogate the commitments it has reached with workers hitherto in the process of the history of industrial disputes and actions. It is a signal from the government

that the capitalists are free to violate bargaining agreements reached between them and the workers at will. The capitalists will use this to justify their attempts to reverse the rights that the workers have won for themselves through class struggles. This is one of the reasons why Kenyan workers and the exploited and oppressed must unite to defend the right to permanent and pensionable employment, which is threatened.

The government knows very well that such a policy will have serious negative effects on the workers. The government also knows that that policy will threaten the job security for the workers and consequently increase corruption, cronyism and politically motivated renewal of contracts and termination of the same. This will result into inefficiency in the civil service, and poverty in the country. But does the government care? After all, the leaders of the government of Kenya are also business persons, capitalists to the core. In Kenya, the policies and laws that prohibit leaders from being involved in matters that lead to conflict of interests are respected more in the breach than in observance. We are reminded of one of the greatest heroes of the anti-colonial struggle of India, Mangal Pandey, who warned that 'if business leaders are also government leaders, the common man will always cry!'

Permanent and pensionable employment at least provides hope to the poorly remunerated Kenyan civil service workers. However small the pensions are, they are at least something to provide some hope after retirement. Denying workers the right to permanent and pensionable employment is denying them hope for the future and pushing them to premature deaths.

The issue that needs to be addressed should not be the rationalization of the civil service to cut jobs and the wage bill at the expense of workers rights. Rather, it is to employ, deploy and

utilize the workers more efficiently and effectively to provide the necessary services, better their conditions of employment, rationalize salaries to avoid paying too much to the elite state and public officers at the expense of the majority of the ordinary workers.

If any section of Kenyans should be required to make sacrifices to reduce the wage bill then it must be the class of the ruling capitalist elites who earn too much, hoard too much and waste too much while escalating class inequality, robbing public property and mismanaging the economy through their incompetence, greed, waste and corruption.

Kenyan workers have sacrificed and continue to sacrifice for the country and yet the ungrateful elites controlling political and economic power want to rob them of their right to permanent employment and pensions. The CPK joins trade unions, civil servant workers, the exploited and oppressed in saying NO! Enough is enough! Kenyan workers must keep their permanent jobs and pensions!! To hell with capitalism and imperialism and the structural adjustment programs!!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA CALLS ON ALL KENYANS TO REJECT THE BBI PROJECT

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK
20 February 2020

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) calls on all Kenyans to reject Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). BBI is a fraud and a political gimmick calculated by the corrupt ruling elites so that they can maintain their neo-colonial capitalist system in power through the 2022 national elections which will be dominated by tribalism, corruption, false hope, and propaganda. It has nothing to do with perpetuating the interests of the majority of Kenyans. It also has nothing to do with peaceful elections, national development, or the eradication of the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person.

The BBI process is a product of the handshake between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga following the flawed and disputed 2017 presidential elections in which many Kenyans, particularly the youth, and including children, were killed by police officers. However, and shamefully so, the BBI document is silent on the issue of families who lost loved ones through the organised violence that was perpetrated by the same people who are now whipping up public and tribal emotions among Kenyans so that they may support the BBI.

The truth is, BBI has nothing new to offer Kenyans. Any positive idea it purports to offer is already and comprehensively addressed by the Constitution of Kenya 2010. In fact, BBI is reactionary and dilutes the Constitution and the democratic gains achieved by the Kenyan masses hitherto for purely narrow and selfish interests of the current political and economic elites. It seeks to take Kenyans back to the era of bloated governments

which will eat up a huge chunk of taxpayers' money that should otherwise be used for development.

Re-Introduction of Bloated Government

BBI purports to address the problem of election violence that has been happening in Kenya and causing economic problems and gross violations of human rights. This is already clearly addressed by the Constitution of Kenya which entrenches multiparty democracy and respect for human rights. Kenyans do not need flowery regurgitated documents or referenda. What we need is the implementation of the Constitution to the fullest. The principles of multiparty democracy, that they violate with impunity, includes peaceful and corrupt-free elections; transparent, free and fair elections; and accepting election results whether one is the winner or loser. It is the same two proponents of BBI and their associates who have in the past ensured that elections are corrupted with money, violence, exclusion, rigging of elections, and above all, tribalism.

The imagination by the BBI team that those who have ascended to power through violence, stealing, bribing, and dividing people along ethnic lines will all of a sudden be at the forefront of championing for free, fair, transparent, peaceful and issue-based politics, remains just that, an imagination. In fact, they now think that if a few tribal chieftains from the five biggest ethnicities and two dominant religions are included in a bloated executive, then the face of Kenya will be achieved and tribalism will cease to exist.

A more blatant fraud by the BBI is that it purports to introduce an (indigenous) parliamentary form of government and a position of Prime Minister. You cannot have a parliamentary form of government and prime minister when he or she is appointed and is also sacked at will by a powerful president who

is elected directly by the people. The BBI also seeks to add more powers to the President by recommending that Principal Secretaries (PSs) who are the accounting officers in the ministries, be appointed directly by the President without subjecting them to any parliamentary vetting and approval. Clearly, the BBI is a scheme to erode the democratic gains that we have so far achieved as a country.

BBI also purports to invent an "indigenous" Kenyan system; yet that system only seeks to serve a few rich people, while the majority of the working people and the poor masses dig deeper into their pockets to sustain the system.

Profits Before People

BBI seeks to elevate the private sector above the State sector as the main driver of our economy. For them, profits are more important than the prosperity of the majority of Kenyans. We remind Kenyans that it is this very idea of "less State, less Government" that was forced down on Africans by the IMF and World Bank in the 80s and 90s that led to the escalation of poverty on the continent that we are still grappling with today. Clearly, BBI is based on the capitalist system as its ideology and praxis, yet capitalism has failed in Kenya as it continues to exclude the majority of citizens from the means of production and in participating effectively in the economy. The system has continued to escalate social contradictions, manifestations of poverty and underdevelopment while also plunging the country deeper and deeper into debt burden, imperialist domination, and slavery.

There cannot be national unity of Kenya as BBI claims because Kenya is divided into classes of the rich and the poor, the few and the majority, the haves and the have-nots. Wherever there are classes there will be class struggles. Tribalism and

corruption are manifestations of the capitalist system. Without replacing the capitalist system with the socialist system, all talk about peace, equality, common nationhood, and fighting corruption will remain as elusive as the ideas proposed by BBI.

Concerning the issue of culture in Kenya, this is also clearly addressed by the Constitution of Kenya. The BBI is proposing ridiculous, romantic and meaningless solutions. National culture is not planted upon people as BBI suggests but is instead created and recreated, born and reborn through deliberate, sustainable, social and national development, struggle and ideology geared towards the liberation of all citizens from the system of exploitation of person by person. Kenya is a society divided into classes and such societies can never have a single national culture.

Promotion of Imperialist Interests

More importantly, BBI is deliberately being used by foreign imperialist interests to compromise the sovereignty and interests of the people of Kenya. We say this because it introduces two dangerous ideas. First, it seeks to have our disciplined services and forces, that is, our soldiers, police personnel, intelligence officers, prison officers, wildlife police, forestry police, the coast guards, and the national youth servicemen and women to be recruited by foreign linked private companies. It is like saying that a Kenyan company should be allowed to recruit American, British or Ugandan soldiers! Even failed States cannot allow that to happen. The solution to corrupt recruitment processes in our security forces does not and cannot lie in surrendering our security to imperialist countries.

The second national security compromise that the BBI seeks to introduce is the removal of the existing limitations on holders of dual citizenship with regards to holding constitutional state

responsibilities. BBI recommends that only the President and the Cabinet Secretary for Defence should be prevented from holding dual citizenship. They fail to understand that in the world today, Trade, Environment, Communications, Culture, Education, Science and Technology among other fields are an extension of security, control, war, and defence. They also fail to understand that under international law, some pronouncements by the Foreign Affairs minister can actually bind a country legally. The existing limitations in the Constitution are there to protect Kenya's national state secrets and interests. The BBI proposal of dual citizenship without limitations will make the Country more vulnerable to infiltration by all sorts of foreign interests. They have forgotten that in the world today there exist nation-states and diverse and often parallel nation-state interests.

Killing Devolution

On devolution, BBI purports to support county governments, but tacitly proposes the reversion of the Nairobi City County to the National Government. The reason given is as disrespectful and unintelligent as the proposal itself. They argue that since Nairobi hosts the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and since UNEP and other diplomatic agencies must be served with proper infrastructure, electricity, uninterrupted water supply, sewerage services, communication services among other services, then the Capital City must fall under the National Government. In other words, BBI is telling Kenyans that devolution is a failure as it cannot perform the functions outlined in the Constitution. They are also telling us that the UN and the diplomats are more important than the poor majority of Nairobi and Kenya at large. For them, Poor Kenyans can continue experiencing poor services ….. but no, not the foreign diplomats!

This proposal exposes the contemptuous view on devolution by the architects of BBI. The UNEP is just an excuse. New York, which hosts the United Nations headquarters has a Governor and a Mayor. The cities of Geneva, Vienna and other UN seats also have their own elected leaders.

Accountability for KES 10 Billion

Lastly, BBI is already a failure as the bridge that it attempts to build has already been broken by the principal contractors themselves. Kenyans are already dangerously divided over the very BBI. In the meantime, BBI has already consumed KES10 Billion, and it seeks to consume another KES11 Billion. The BBI taskforce did not attach their financial statement in their first report. CPK asks, to whose pockets did this money go to? We demand accountability for every shilling that was and will be allocated to the BBI taskforce.

CPK appeals to the exploited and oppressed Kenyans and all patriotic and progressive Kenyans to demand for the full implementation of the Constitution of Kenya and use it to remove the capitalist and imperialist system and replace it with the socialist system. True, the spirit of the Constitution reflects what the majority of Kenyans said and wished: socialism!

SPEECH AT THE LAUNCH OF THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
1 February 2015

Party Cadres, members and supporters,

According to the government statistics, Kenya has over 15 million unemployed people out of a population of about 44 million. These are people who are of working age, and out of school. The fact that these are government statistics means that the situation is probably worse.

This means that Kenya has one of the highest unemployment rates on the continent. This means that we actually have an unemployment crisis which is worsening by the day.

Each year, half a million students graduate from high school, with most pursuing courses that will prepare them for the "job market." This is besides the over two hundred thousand pupils who miss places in high schools, and therefore acquire some vocational training, or go straight into the "job market."

Everyone graduates from high school and post high school institutions with high hopes, with many hosting graduation parties to mark their achievements. They then immediately embark to looking for employment, from job searching websites, newspaper vacancy advertisements, and job searching mobile phone platforms.

In the beginning, you selectively apply for all the jobs that you are qualified for, and wait for the response.

Six months later, you learn not to expect even acknowledgement of receipt of your application, and if you are lucky, you may be invited for an interview or two.

You continue applying for jobs, and you now apply in all the available places, dropping your CVs with your city relatives, your local Member of Parliament and every other person that you consider well placed, and the wait continues.

One year later, some frustration begins to creep in. Those in the rural areas keep themselves busy by doing farm work, while those in the city idle in the jobless corners, or idle in the house watching movies and series all day. It is of course worse for those who live in the slums without access to electricity—not to mention radio or television.

This frustration extends to your parents, given that they have invested a lot in your education yet you are not finding any work opportunities. You are tortured by living with the pain they feel for you. You also know that they make all sorts efforts to get you a job, but all in vain.

For those living with relatives in towns, tensions that threaten blood or friend relations begin to rise, and arguments, mostly on trivial issues become a common occurrence. Soon, there is a mutual feeling that you can't both live under the same roof, but ni lazima utii, since it is much more difficult to search for a job from the villages of Mukurwe-ini.

In the process, you begin applying for jobs that you are either under-qualified for, overqualified for or not qualified for at all. For example, you have a diploma in Electrical Engineering, but you apply for a Veterinary assistant job. Or you have a degree in Mathematics, but you apply to be a watchman at a sugarcane farm. You basically apply for anything that comes your way.

Occasionally, you get those one-week jobs that keep you going.

The frustrations keep on rising, and unfortunately, some sink into alcoholism, depression and even some become suicidal.

Those who can acquire some capital start up some business venture, but as research done by Comrade Mwandawiro Mghanga[1] shows, these micro-small enterprises cannot even meet subsistence needs but have a very high mortality rate, which means that you will probably find yourself back to square one, sooner or later.

Those whose families can afford are taken back to school to further their studies. That is why we have so many Kenyans going back to study MBA degrees, not because they want to study it, but because they want to become more 'Marketable.'

Others, in spite of the horror stories that we always hear, take the risk and apply for jobs in some of the Middle Eastern countries (and we cannot really blame them). Yet horror stories about Kenyan job seekers, particularly young women being subjected to slavery in the Middle East Countries such as South Arabia, are reported very often with the full knowledge of the Kenyan Government!

You remain dependent at an age when you should be having dependents. That is why many young people are still living with their parents, and the idea of becoming parents scares them.

Woe unto you if you ever get to suffer from those chronic illnesses.

Woe unto you if the person that you are depending upon is sacked, dies, or they just get tired of supporting you.

Woe unto you if you ever lost the few things that you own through burglary.

Woe unto you if you ever get wrongly arrested and you need that bail or bond…

[1] Read Mghanga, Mwandawiro, "Baseline Research on Trade in Kenya" (Southern and East African Trade Information and Negotiation Institute (SEATINI KENYA), Nairobi, 2009. (39 pages)

Of course, there are some exceptions, there are those who know people in the right places and get easily employed.

There are also those who are very lucky, and they apply for jobs and get them. There are others who are also lucky and they start businesses which succeed.

But we must refuse, to allow the future of the huge majority of Kenyans to be dependent on who you know, or luck. Lives cannot be pegged on luck!

The state and the government of Kenya have the responsibility of ensuring employment for all. The government must ensure that every woman and man is living independently, decently and with dignity. Formal employment should be the default option, while self-employment should be by choice, not by forced circumstance.

In every electioneering period, leaders from the various rich people parties in Kenya run around with the promise of employment being on top of their agenda.

They think that the solution to unemployment is simplistic short-term projects like Kazi kwa Vijana and the Youth Fund, where they go ahead and sink billions of Kenya shillings, and they then highlight one or two success stories, just like Casinos and gamblers in general tell people, not telling them of the huge majority of those who lost their money in the gambling.

How does a whole government pride itself in reducing its people to paupers and scavengers?

Incidentally, there are people who have been beaten by the system so much, that they have resigned to the situation or have forgotten that they are actually unemployed:

- If you are having an unpredictable job, of which you are not sure of whether it will be there the following day, then you are unemployed.

- If you are a hawker in the streets, and you are always running away from the authorities, you are unemployed.
- If you operate a small business that is unable to provide you with three good meals a day, decent clothes, housing, medical services and other basic needs, you are surely unemployed.
- If your response when you are asked what you do in life is "Nina-hustle tu," then you are unemployed (...or maybe a thief)

Comrade Feroze Manji told me the other day that what we refer to as informal sector in Kenya, is referred to as unemployment in Europe.

The unemployment question is fundamentally an ideological question. Unemployment is as a direct result of Capitalism, we must understand this.

That is why all the current rich peoples' parties in this country have no idea on how to solve this problem. They have neither the will nor the ability to do so. Their ideological bankruptcy leads them to develop firefighting "solutions" like Youth fund which only benefit the Banks that handle this money, and not the 15 Youths per group who are awarded ksh50,000.

The coalition in government and the coalition in opposition both embrace neoliberalism as the driving idea for economic growth. They are all capitalists who embrace trickle-down economics that embody the idea that the rich should get richer, so that some few shillings may trickle down to the poor. The reality is that nothing really trickles down, the rich get richer, while the poor suffer more.

Immediately after the last elections, President Uhuru Kenyatta, in a predictable neoliberal fashion said that "...It is not the role of the government to create employment. The role of the

government is to create conducive environment so that the private sector may create employment for the masses!" and this is precisely where the problem lies!

The position of SDP is that it is the government that should ensure the well-being of the people, and that includes ensuring that the citizens are in gainful employment. The argument that the government has no business engaging in business or economy, and therefore creating employment, is an argument of neoliberalism that is being implemented by the class of businesspersons based on primitive accumulation and bureaucratic capitalism controlling political and state power in Kenya today. We reject it. Otherwise what is the use of the government for the majority of us?

Based on neoliberal ideology, the government (both the Executive and Legislature) thinks that the private sector is the Alpha and Omega of development….it is not!

There are three major weaknesses of private capital in this regard:

- It is the biggest beneficiary to high unemployment rates. The SDP manifesto, paraphrasing Karl Marx, states that capitalism thrives in places where unemployment rates are high, so as to keep salaries low, and also to keep the workers 'disciplined.' Unless there are militant trade unions, it becomes very difficult for workers to demand for better pay or better conditions, since for every one employee, there are hundreds others who are unemployed and qualified for the same job.
- Even if, in a hypothetical situation, private capital was on a suicidal mission, and it wanted to employ everyone, it still doesn't have the capacity/enough resources to establish

enough industries and jobs opportunities to deal with the unemployment question.

- Private capital is not loyal. For instance, if today, Rwanda was to ban all trade union activities and promise slave labour for international investors, then Kenyan capitalists would demand for similar conditions locally, failing to do so, Kenyan capitalists would quickly relocate to Rwanda, hence worsening the situation locally. It is important to note here that whereas private capital respects no boundaries, states always ensure that workers are stopped by those boundaries.

It is this ideological bankruptcy that led most African leaders, with their developmental states, to accept IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which destroyed the few industries that some countries on the continent had immediately after the end of classical colonialism.

For example, immediately after independence, many industries were established in Kenya that were geared towards the development and employment needs of the country. There were textile industries in Nairobi, Thika, Nanyuki, Kisumu and Eldoret that not only produced clothes for local needs and for export using cotton produced by Kenyan farmers but also produced thousands of jobs both directly and indirectly. There were also numerous import substitution industries in Mombasa, Nairobi and other Kenyan towns that created jobs, expanded the towns and triggered related economic activities that created more jobs. Besides providing employment in the civil service, the government also established numerous parastatals related to agriculture, trade, tourism, etc. that provide many jobs to Kenyans. Extension services in education, health, agriculture, industrial training, literacy, forestry, water, etc. also provided

employment for Kenyans. Cooperative societies related to coffee, tea, cotton, pyrethrum, milk, horticulture and meat production and marketing created thousands of jobs for Kenyans in the rural and urban areas. During this time that lasted up to the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the problem of unemployment as we know it today was not there. Many Kenyans, including young persons, had a predictable immediate and present life.

All this was destroyed by neoliberalism that imposed the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. This was done with the connivance of the successive Kenyan governments led by corrupt, greedy and unpatriotic elites that are in government for the main purpose of stealing and protecting the stolen loot for themselves and their families.

SAPs demanded that the government abdicate its role of intervening in the economy on behalf of all citizens by not participating directly in ownership, production and distribution. This led to the privatisation of state parastatals that destroyed thousands of existing jobs. Privatisation, which is tantamount to the robbery of the property of all Kenyans, is still continuing under the present government. Tens of thousands of Kenyans have lost their jobs through retrenchments in the civil service that includes the destruction of extension services. Through economic liberalisation, the local industry that was developing has also been destroyed together with the jobs it contained, leading to the present economic situation of import dependency described by comrade Mwandawiro Mghanga as *mtumbaism*. The present ruling elite that is only concerned about using its position to enhance its business and money-minting interests continues to

destroy cooperative societies and movements in the country and thus also increasing unemployment.

Through this state of affairs the government has ran away from its responsibility, by claiming that people go to school so that they can become employers, and not employees.

Ever since we were kids, we were told to study hard so that we could get good jobs …then after 16 years of working hard in school, the fellow comes and tells you to employ yourself! Anybody who says that to you is a conman who should be in jail! S/he should not be a highly paid employee of government!

If we, for arguments sake, accept this change of reasoning, and somehow we all employ ourselves, who would teach in the schools? Who would treat in the hospitals? Wouldn't all nurses and doctors have their own separate and unworkable clinics where they are self-employed? You'd have to separately pay at least 10 people so as to have a specialised medical operation for instance! Or you'd have to take your kid to seven different teachers so as to get wholesome learning!

Whenever this government is challenged, it always responds not by offering solutions, but by returning the challenge back to you, is as if they didn't know what they were doing when they were asking for votes.

We all know that SDP will one day form a Socialist government, which will establish a Socialist State, and eventually, the Socialist state would be replaced by communism.

As I said before, unemployment is essentially a problem created by capitalism, and a problem that sustains capitalism.

Unfortunately, when this 'reserve army' of unemployed workers reaches high numbers, social order is destroyed. Crime

rates reach an all-time high, violence in marriages increase, the number of homeless people increases and all these other ills that we are all familiar about happen. Conditions for the replacement of this capitalist system are thus created, and only an organised vanguard Socialist Party, can lead the masses to the alternative: Socialism.

Under capitalism (which is the current way that the economy in Kenya and across the world is run), the role of production is the maximisation of profit. Under Socialism, production is planned to meet the needs of the masses and the country.

Under Capitalism, technology replaces workers (and that is why many workers are opposed to technology, since the bosses use new technology to reduce employment and make work more boring.) Under Socialism, technology means more family/education/recreation time for workers.

An SDP government would, in the medium term, build the economy with a very strong State sector, and also through some cooperative and some private sector.

The state would make serious production investments in agriculture, heavy industry and light industry, with a priority of meeting the needs of the masses.

For example, clothes are a basic need. Most of the clothes that we wear are either second hand clothes from Europe, or brand-new clothes from Europe and Asia. This means that it is the European and the Asian farmers and industrial workers that benefit from the clothes that we wear.

If all Kenyans wore clothes that were made in Kenya, the cotton farmers would benefit, the researchers in cotton development would find work, the scientists in fertilizer manufacturing would find work, transporters of harvested cotton, yarn, cloth and clothes would find work, many workers would be

employed in the ginning, spinning, weaving, and cloth making industries as they used to. The seller at Mr. Price and Gikomba would still be in employment, selling the final product. Engineers would be involved in manufacture of the machinery and building of these industries. Mechanics would be employed in maintenance. All these industries would employ accountants and many other supporting workers. These workers will need to eat, meaning that more farmers will be engaged in food production, and cooks will be employed in preparing the food. The workers who indulge over the weekends will have money to spend, meaning that they will drink more hence initiating more industry. The bankers too will benefit…etc., etc.…

This is just one example of how dressing the people (in just cotton, not even wool & silk) would ignite the economy.

Another example is the state ensuring proper housing of the workers. The economic expansion that would be created by this is unimaginable. Right from the cement and stone quarries, to the iron mines and glass industry, to the construction workers, to the transporters and so on and so forth, including the administration and maintenance of the houses.

Under an SDP government, the dismantling of the neo-colonial nature of the state would begin, by ensuring total independence of the country in all aspects from security to trade. Before flowers are exported to Europe, Kenya must be self-sufficient in food. Why should we be importing all military clothes, vehicles and weapons, 50 years after independence? We must know that outsiders will never develop our continent for us! This means we have to develop and implement policies of nurturing and protecting local agriculture, industry, trade and culture.

Neo-liberalism would be rolled back immediately, by nationalising and deliberately socialising what was earlier privatised or earned from the gains of privatisation. This would translate to more job opportunities to the Kenyan masses.

With scientific economic planning for agricultural and industrial production with an intention of meeting local needs in a massively underdevelopment country like ours means that we would have to import extra labour to get to the level of development that a Socialist State envisions.

Only a Socialist led government can ultimately solve the unemployment problem in this country. This will happen when the Socialist Party captures state power. Until then, we need to campaign to ensure that the government creates more decent, secure and well-paid jobs. We need to campaign with the trade unions to stop retrenchment. In the private sector, we need to demand that the government takes over companies that are reducing employment. We need to demand that the government creates more jobs, for teachers, nurses, textile workers etc.

If the mass of people were provided with their basic needs, then unemployment would be reduced as production would be for need and not for the profit of the few.

Meanwhile, we ask all Kenyans, employed or unemployed, in college or graduated, educated or not, to visit the website and the Facebook page, and sign the petition to the Government, demanding for a detailed plan of how they are planning to solve the unemployment question. We also ask all Kenyan of goodwill to join SDP, and support the Party as it mobilises everyone else in this campaign, and in the struggle for Socialism.

Viva SDP Viva!

SPEECH AT THE LAUNCH OF THE REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH WEEK AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

Zarina Patel, Secretary, Gender Affairs - SDP
16 March 2015

Thanks to the Kenya Law Students Society,

And congratulations to our law students and faculty for launching this campaign to promote awareness about reproductive health being a fundamental right. When I enquired from the organisers I was given a number of concerns that they had in this field. They mentioned FGM, wife-beating and wife inheritance, abortion and contraception, HIV and AIDS, cancer awareness and others.

I doubt if in this enlightened audience, there are persons who will want to justify any of these practices. In the larger society those who support or engage in FGM, wife-beating and wife inheritance have no positive benefits to offer—their recourse is almost always to tradition and culture, both of which are ever evolving and reforming.

As for the debate on abortion and contraception—I strongly believe that, as for now and until science makes some gigantic leap, that these matters are the concern of women, ALL women—they affect deeply and fundamentally their bodies, their careers, their education, their future—in fact their lives. It is only reasonable that they should have total control over planning their destiny. Remember, it is only the wearer of the shoe who knows where it pinches.

One cannot ignore the very heated debates and even violent actions that engulf the question of abortion and contraception—I think I am right in saying that these are almost always faith-based, I have yet to understand why religious arguments always

have to be so bellicose and aggressive. In any case Kenya is a secular country, we have a secular constitution, in which any religious body is free to make certain demands on its followers. What I do not think they have any right to do is to impose those demands on the non-followers.

My approach to the topic of reproductive health rights is going to be socio economic and political rather than biological. We talk of these as individual rights: women's rights, men's rights, the rights of gays and other sexual minorities, etc. Yet none of us is an island unto herself or himself. We are social beings, we live in a society and the very basic unit of society is the FAMILY. But we do not talk much about the family, do we? We take it as a given.

And yet no matter how many reproductive rights we draft, provide and try to implement; the final decision on the execution of that right will be made in the family. And unfortunately this unit is not one happy family whose members think alike and cooperate for the good of all. Far from it!

The family as we know it today is a den of competing power relations and incompatible contradictions, often quite violent. Who makes the decisions in the family? How are they made? And for whose benefit? These are questions which every family has to battle with, and there are no easy solutions. We usually think of women as being the victims of these tensions, but so are the men and the children. So then are we doomed as humanity to live and die in this murky pond?

First of all, let us be aware that the family in its present form is barely 5 thousand years old. For most of our 200,000-year history we have lived in matriarchal societies where the children belonged to their mother and her brother—that was the blood line

and that is what formed the family. The biological father was just a visitor to the homestead.

Remnants of matriarchal societies can be found even today. So over time the family has evolved. We then developed the extended family system. And when we moved from a subsistence existence to producing a surplus—concerns of ownership, control and availability of labour surfaced. The notion of 'property' was born, and as you all know, women and children became 'property'. That is why we pay dowry.

Now we are in the process of establishing nuclear families—mother, father and their children—and the extended family is slowly eroding. Together with the evolution of the family, another very important process has been on-going. During the subsistence, and even early extended family modes of production, the group worked as one unit in one area to sustain and to reproduce themselves.

But in the present capitalist system which is global, the work sphere has been separated from the home domain. You go out to work and return home to relax and get your sustenance for the next day's job. You work in a public sphere where working relations are socialised. But the family on the other hand is considered PRIVATE and PERSONAL. That is why we never talk about it, leave alone critique it. And why the state does not so-called 'interfere'.

In the system in which we are living, the primary role of the family is to produce and nurture the next generation of workers. And that duty falls squarely on the shoulders of the mother, and if she is very lucky, a supportive father. But most importantly note that the state takes no responsibility though the function is essential for the survival of the human race.

I am only able to accept your invitation to come and speak to you all here today because of one simple reality—there is a maid who is cleaning my house, preparing my dinner and who will care for my son when he returns home from school. Without her I doubt that I would have found the time to write this paper, leave alone present it.

So when we agree that reproductive health is a fundamental right, as it should be, we should be concerned about how we plan to implement that right. I could, to fight for my rights, maybe find the means and the time to go to FIDA, to court, to a counsellor, to an HIV Clinic, for a cervical and breast cancer check. What about that maid? How will she enforce this all-important right which doubtless will be denied to her? Surely we cannot be advocating for a right that will benefit only a minority of women, or persons.

Even if all these services were freely available, would the majority of women have the time, the facility, and/or the freedom to avail of them? Within the present family structure the woman and her daughters are quite literally trapped. Their duty and responsibility is 'family first, the rest is secondary and can wait'. The message is drummed into them by society, by religion, by men, mothers and grandmothers. If the spouses divorce or the son becomes a delinquent, it is almost always the mother who is to blame, rarely the father. We long for women's empowerment and make laws to achieve 30 per cent representation and more women in parliament—I don't say we should not try, BUT I am certain that even if we came near to achieving these goals, the average woman will not be empowered if we do not address the very basis of her enslavement, the family structure. It was Friedrich Engels who said, 'Even before slavery existed, woman was the first slave'.

If we want women (and others) to exercise their rights to reproductive health, then we must socialise family duties and free women to be in total control of their lives and their bodies. Replacing the individual family system with a socially caring system is the way to go.

Human beings thrive in societies based on mutual care-giving. When we share the work, everyone has more free time. Just as when we share what we produce, everyone has access to what society has to offer. Collective care-giving is the child's best protection. Any *cucu* will vouch for that. Surrounded by caregivers, no child would ever be trapped in a box with a needy or raging adult. And when raising children is a social responsibility, no-one will be forced to live with anyone else. Women will be able to control if, when and how they bear children. Socialised children coupled with reproductive control will free women to be the social equals of men. It will change relationships in ways we can only imagine.

The burden of childcare is overwhelming. The state, in order to ensure a steady flow of new workers, should fund infant and child care centres, collective kitchens and shared living arrangements. Our senior citizens and neighbourhood associations should be mobilised to assume some of these functions.

I am reminded at this point of those horrific pictures that we all saw a few months ago on our television screens. I am talking about the house maid in Uganda who brutalised the baby left in her care. We were all shocked for a few days, and then moved on. After all it was a private matter, sadly not even the women's movement seems to have taken it up. But the mothers of young children had to. Those who could, have installed nanny cams, investigated their house maids and/or moved their babies to

nurseries. Those who could not, and that is the majority, must be praying feverishly to God to protect their dear ones. To date we have not heard any concern expressed by the state, leave alone any action to solve this problem of childcare. Punishing the maid in a court of law is of no help to the myriad women who struggle with this predicament every day. And the maid, for all we know, may herself have been suffering under extreme family pressures.

I would like to conclude by saying that the issue of reproduction is the very basis of life and so, like food, shelter and education, reproductive health care has to be a fundamental right. But the issue of reproduction is also an integral part of the family structure and it cannot be divorced from it. So, as we work towards implementing this fundamental right, let us also raise awareness of the private and personal nature of the family in our present capitalist system, and the need to transform it into a social entity in our society, a new socialist society.

STATEMENT ON THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE GOVERNMENT MUST DO MORE TO PROTECT THE HEALTH AND THE RIGHTS OF ALL KENYANS

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK
18 March 2020

Following the public health prevention and protection measures against the spread of the Corona Virus (COVID-19) that the Government announced on 15th March 2020, the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) suspended major Party affairs including the sub-county and study circle meetings across the Country for the recommended 14 days.

During pandemics and crisis of such magnitude, it is the working class and masses that suffer the most. This suffering is not accidental; it is because the capitalist system is designed that way.

The CPK recognises the ongoing efforts by the Government to arrest the spread of infection of the Virus, and in particular commends the actions of the healthcare workers who, in spite of the possible risks, are determined to ensure that they play their role to mitigate the risks to the masses. The CPK welcomes the Government's warning to business people that they should not take advantage of the current situation to make more profits by increasing the prices of basic commodities. Indeed, the Competition Authority of Kenya and other Government agencies have already taken punitive and criminal action against some of these profiteers.

However, a lot needs to be done, both in the short term and in the long run. The short-term measures must include:

1. Proper sensitisation of the masses on the prevention and detection of Corona Virus. A majority of Kenyans are still not

aware of what they can do to minimise the risk of being infected with the Virus. Many more do not know what the symptoms of the Virus are, beyond the normal coughing. The Government should launch a major campaign, similar to the campaigns that they carry out when asking Kenyans to register for elections, to register for the hopeless Huduma Number or to vote for particular candidates in elections. Radio for example, especially the Kiswahili and the vernacular stations should be compelled to participate in this campaign as a National duty. The ongoing SMS campaign should be made in Kiswahili which is the national language. The private media should also be controlled, so that they report actual infections and not mere suspected cases. Their sensational reportage for the sake of traffic and profits only ends up causing unnecessary and dangerous panic.

2. Workers should be protected from profit-obsessed bosses and their organisations. The government must give strict orders to employers to ensure that their workers get full pay during this uncertain period. Workers should also be protected from any threats of suspension or termination from their jobs. The current position against hiking the prices of consumer goods should continue.

3. The distinction between private hospitals and the public hospitals must be eliminated. Any person within Kenyan borders should be able to receive treatment at the nearest hospital to them, without being threatened with costs.

4. Insurance Companies should be put on notice. The speculation going round that health insurance companies will not cover COVID-19 treatment should be combated, and any insurance company that attempts not to pay must face extreme punitive measures. This is not a period to protect profits and cause panic among Kenyans.

5. The Government should ensure uninterrupted water supply especially in the cities, and it should take up the responsibility of ensuring that public service transportation, public eateries and all public places meet the required standards of sanitation. The Government must now crack down on the water distribution cartels. It is a well-known fact that these cartels work with rogue County officials to create artificial water shortages so that they can make illicit money. The Government should take over the distribution of water in the slums where the cost of water is much higher than the average cost in the cities.

6. The Police should now only arrest persons who commit serious crimes, and must desist from arresting petty and small crimes suspects. Some of the senior police officers are now taking advantage of the lockdown of the Judiciary to extort money from innocent Kenyans who are being threatened with trumped up charges. This is not only criminal and immoral, but it also counters the ongoing efforts to curb the spread of the Virus since we all know the conditions of police vehicles and police cells.

7. Any financial protection that the government offers must be channelled to State entities and towards the workers and the masses, and not to the private companies that make super-profits every passing year.

The Corona Virus pandemic has exposed the poverty of the neo-liberal capitalist idea that the Kenyan society needs more and more of the private sector and less and less of state sector in the daily running of the economy. If our public transport system was State owned and managed, the Government of the day would have effected the public vehicle hygiene policies (to the highest standards) without having to plead with the private bus/matatu owners to do so. If the Government controlled the distribution of

basic commodities in the Country, then the President would not be pleading or issuing threats to the private distributors not to increase the price of these commodities. The Government itself would have ensured that the working class and the masses continue accessing these commodities at favourable prices. Surrendering the provision of services to the private sector compromises both the implementation and standards of these services both in normal times and in times of crisis. The capitalists will always be inspired by profits and not the well-being of the people.

In the long run, Kenyans must demand for the realisation of our National Values and Principles of Governance as espoused in Article 10 of our Constitution which actually demands for socialism. Kenya needs to implement Article 43 of the Constitution to the fullest. This Article demands that every Kenyan must have decent housing; clean and safe water; adequate and nutritious food; access to the highest standards of health and healthcare; access to social security; and access to education. The Corona Virus has reminded humanity that our fate is interconnected, and that inequality is a threat to everyone.

We must learn from the small island of Cuba which has made giant strides with respect to the provision of the above-mentioned socio-economic rights in spite of the economic, financial and commercial blockade that has been imposed on it for over 50 years by the world's biggest imperialist power, the United States of America. This small island has developed its medical and biotechnological capacity to the extent that all world powers are depending on it to continue offering the Corona Virus medicine and to develop a vaccine against this and other life-threatening viruses.

In the final analysis, only Socialism can save humanity from extermination by poverty, viruses, pandemics, and wars.

The Communist Party of Kenya calls on all Kenyans to rise up, join the Communist Party and work together to destroy capitalism as we participate in building a world socialist order.

STATEMENT ON THE RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS BY UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI STUDENTS

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
5 April 2016

The University of Nairobi (UoN) was under heavy police siege for four days in a row, from Saturday 2nd to Tuesday 5th April 2016, following the SONU elections that were held on the Friday before.

The results of these elections were disputed, with claims of blatant rigging through stuffing of votes in the ballot boxes during voting and inflation of figures during tallying. The University administration led by professor Peter Mbithi chose to ignore the complains from the students, and instead hurriedly swore-in the 'elected' SONU officials inside a boardroom, under the external guard of hundreds of policemen in full riot gear. This is unlike the UoN custom where student leaders are sworn-in in public, after all appeal issues are addressed.

This travesty ignited student protests in and around the University, where the police reacted by firing live bullets, reportedly killing one student. The police also broke into the female students' hostels where it is reported that they raped some students, beat up most of them and stole their laptops, mobile phones and money. The protests went on the following day, where instead of the police ensuring that the demonstrations went on peacefully in the streets, they chose to target the students who were studying in the lecture halls and the library, rounded them up, took them to the streets and savagely beat them up. Others were taken from the lecture halls directly to central police station.

The ongoing protests should not be analyzed in isolation, but within the context of the existing rot in our public universities and the country as a whole.

For a long time now, the University administration in connivance with students' organization officials has been mismanaging millions of shillings from the students' union kitty, since the financial scrutiny over those funds is not as strict as those operated within other structures of the universities. Usually, contribution to the Union is a mandatory part of the school fees. UoN for instance collects about thirty million Kenya shillings every year (This may explain why the UoN administration was quick to swear-in the students, probably out of an established financial abuse relationship that had been in place since the previous year.)

The University administrations and the government of Kenya including its security organs, are very well aware of the existence of thugs within the universities, most of whom bully vulnerable students in the evenings, and terrorize candidates vying for the student councils during elections, but choose to turn a blind eye; but will never hesitate to arrest, suspend and expel students who protest injustices done by the same administration and the same security organs.

In some of our public universities and in most of our private universities, academic freedom is not allowed at all. Political debates are never encouraged, and any intellectual engagement beyond coursework has to be approved by the university administration. The culture of fear and silence is the order of the day. Just last year, the Kenya Law Students Society of the University of Nairobi had organized a political debate that involved leading political figures that included Raila Odinga, Mwandawiro Mghanga, Martha Karua and Koigi wa Wamwere,

but was cancelled by the Vice Chancellor with no concrete reason being given. The discussion topic was on '**Whether the universities are playing their expected role as an alternative pillar for democracy and socio-economic development**'. Kenyatta University has even more dictatorial sanctions in this regard. This stifling of academic and constitutional freedoms explains why peaceful protests end up with ugly consequences.

The university councils are also guilty of institutionalizing the misappropriation of public funds and turning a blind eye to the degeneration in our universities. Just the other day for example, the Kenyatta University council awarded Professor Olive Mugenda, their outgoing vice Chancellor one hundred million shillings as a send of package, over and above her legal retirement benefits. Were it not for the resulting public outcry, the money, which includes students fees and tax payers monies would have been stolen just like that.

What message does such a criminal activity send to the students in that institution?

The students are also to blame. They have allowed student leaders to take them for a ride, where they steal and misuse their monies without taking anyone into account. Unlike in the past where those campaigning for student´s leadership would address concrete issues affecting students and the country, today, they listen to childish rhetoric from those seeking to lead them, and we even recently saw a shocking video of some students lining up to be bribed with money so as to vote for a particular candidate!

Nevertheless, we are glad to see that sense still exists, since if it did not, then we would not have seen the demonstrations in the scale that we are currently witnessing.

The Government of Kenya, the University Council and Vice Chancellor must take full responsibility for the death of the student that the police killed, the students that the police raped, the electronics and money that the police stole and the violence that the police meted out on the unarmed students.

The Cabinet Secretary for education, Dr Fred Matiang'i must suspend, investigate and take disciplinary action against the University of Nairobi top administrators right from the Vice Chancellor to the head of security. The need for the suspension of the Vice Chancellor in particular is compounded by the fact that he has continued to deny that unarmed students were maimed by the police, that students were raped and his claim that the elections were free and fair even before independent investigations are carried out.

The university students should not stop rising up to protest against all forms of injustices, dictatorship and corruption meted against them, and against the people of Kenya. They should instead intensify the struggle.

Kenyans must also learn from the current protests and rise up and reject the corruption, tribalism and other ills that currently bedevil this country of ours.

The contested results in the just concluded SONU elections should be cancelled, and fresh transparent elections carried out as soon as possible. No student should be victimised for exercising their constitutional rights. The culture of stealing elections in Kenya can partly be solved by ensuring that repeat elections are done for every questionable election, including that of the highest office in the land, for if a candidate is indeed popular, they will still win on a fair repeat.

STATEMENT/PETITION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA ON THE SOARING FOOD AND FUEL PRICES, AND THE UNPRECEDENTED COST OF LIVING IN KENYA

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP
19 April 2011

SDP is saddened by the soaring cost of living in Kenya, which rises by the day, yet we have not seen or heard of any meaningful intervention from the government of National Unity.

Kenyans still remember, the promises that President Kibaki gave during his 2007 campaigns, indicating that his government would take care of the common mwananchi, having concentrated on resuscitating the country's economy in his first term.

Kenyans have not also forgotten Prime Minister Raila's chief campaign promise, of reducing the cost of essential goods, including food and Kerosene, back to, or even to cheaper prices than we had ten years ago.

Price of Fuel and Food

On the contrary, we have seen constant increase on the food prices and fuel prices over the past four years, yet the government remains mum on this life threatening issue. It is only in 2008 that we saw the introduction of two prices of unga, which was both discriminatory, as it was unworkable.

Everyone is well aware of the fact that the price of fuel affects the price of all other goods produced and consumed in a country.

The government of Kenya has been left to the mercies of multinational oil corporations like Kenol-Kobil, Total and others, who have well established roots in the government, and work closely with the Kenyan politicians and government leaders to

oppress and constantly exploit the majority of Kenyans both rich and poor—especially the poor.

It is well known that most petrol stations in Kenya are co-owned by the current and former politicians and government officials; hence we see no opposition to these murderous increases from them.

We would like to remind the government that thousands of Kenyans are losing their sources of livelihood through these increases, since:

1. Industries are forced to lay workers off due to the rising costs of manufacture.
2. Workers are finding it difficult to get to work, due to the very expensive matatu fares, which are initiated by the rising fuel costs, and passed down to the passengers.
3. Farmers cannot feed their animals on animal feeds and other supplements, since their prices have increased by over 60% in the past five months. This has led to most of the farmers abandoning farming all together, or increasing the prices of their products by the same margin.
4. The cost of transporting these farm goods has also increased due to the increase in the cost of the cost of fuel, which further injures the end consumer.
5. The cost of electricity has been going up steadily, and is still set to rise by a great margin due to the current fuel prices.
6. The cost of essential manufactured goods, like cooking oils and fats, Sugar, soap, tooth pastes among others are now next to unaffordable to the common Mwananchi.

The above are just but a few examples of the suffering that Kenyans are going through, while the government either keeps

quiet, or claims that its hands are tied, and that we are at the mercies of these multinationals.

Excuses by the government

In the past, the government used to claim that the multinational companies like Total and Kenol-Kobil are to blame, and that their hands are tied, meaning that we were at the mercies of these private multinationals.

If this were the case, then why have we never seen better prices from the government owned National Oil?

The government, through their regulatory board, in conjunction with these multinationals, came up with some formula of controlling these fuel prices, but on the contrary, all the regulatory board has been doing is to increase the fuel prices, by un imaginable margins.

It is that members of the energy regulatory commission, together with officials of the energy ministry and government bigwigs are secretly and corruptly benefitting from the multinationals by increasing these prices?

There are also claims that it is because of the imperialist invasion in Libya, that these prices are sky rocketing. This is a lie. We have in the past seen these multinationals increase oil prices when the world price per goes up, yet when the world process go down, we do not see any significant reduction on our pump prices. They are always quick to increase the prices of their stored oil, and cheat Kenyans that that is price-increase-oil from the Middle East.

The bill of rights

These unprecedented fuel and food prices are actually in contravention of our new constitution, as it jeopardizes the implementation of the bill of rights, specifically articles 43 on

economic and Social rights, and Article 46 on Consumer rights and protection.

SDP's Demand

The Social Democratic Party, together with millions of Kenyans, ask the government to play its rightful role and shield us from these oppressive, exploitative and murderous fuel and food prices, and immediately reduce that fuel prices to an agreeable figure of less than 70 shillings per liter of petrol, and less than 40 shillings per liter of Kerosene. We are also asking the government to reduce the price of essential commodities to agreeable and affordable figures. In doing so, they will not only be saving Kenyan lives, but they shall be fulfilling their promises to the people.

It is in this respect that we give this petition, to his Excellency the President of Kenya, to the right Honorable Prime Minister and to the Speaker of the National assembly.

It is in this regard also that together with trade unions and other civil society organisations SDP will mobilise Kenyans on Tuesday, April 19, 2011 to demonstrate in Nairobi and later throughout the country to demand immediate appropriate action to correct the situation to save millions of suffering Kenyans. Let us all join the just and peaceful demonstration that will start at Freedom Corner Uhuru Park from 12:00 Noon! Remember, it is the united struggle of the oppressed and exploited Kenyans that will liberate them and our country.

STOP THE PERSECUTION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS – THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA DEMANDS!

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Chairperson - SDP
13 April 2016

A few days ago the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) made a statement through the Secretary General, comrade Benedict Wachira, concerning the recent University of Nairobi (UoN) students' demonstrations that were triggered by the rigging of SONU elections. We pointed out the truth that the University administration headed by the Vice Chancellor was directly responsible for the rigging of the elections and therefore also for demonstrations that led to the closure of the University. While we do not condone the destruction of property that resulted from the demonstrations, we maintain that the students had a right and a duty of protesting against the rigging of the elections. After all, no Kenyan should allow or accept the rigging of elections.

We also pointed out that the rigging of elections that have been the practice for a long time in the UoN were by design and not by accident. The University administration deliberately designed the rigging in order to impose the student leadership that will collaborate with it in perpetuating the corruption in the university in general and involving the money of students' welfare in particular. To protect corruption, the Vice Chancellors and administrators of Kenyan public universities fight against academic freedom and impose a culture of dictatorship, fear and silence that is also harmful to the creation and dissemination of education. Furthermore, university councils, the Ministry of Education, lecturers, the national intelligence services and other security agencies are fully aware of this truth and must ultimately

be made to account for conniving to impose this reactionary state of affairs in our public universities today.

Following the demonstrations at the University of Nairobi, over two hundred students accused of leading/participating in the demonstrations have been arbitrarily suspended or expelled. Suspending and expelling the students for participating in the just demonstrations is not only wrong and unjust, but it is also meant to cover up the malpractices going on inside the University. This is unacceptable in the present era, to say the least. Kenyans must not allow those charged with managing public institutions to continue destroying them through authoritarianism and for purely narrow, parochial and selfish interests.

SDP calls upon the JUBILEE government to stop pretending that it is not aware of the rot in public universities in general and UoN in particular. The suspensions, expulsions and persecutions being perpetrated against the students fighting for truth and justice must be stopped immediately. Instead, the root cause of the problems in the universities must be identified and addressed. In so doing the students must not be made scapegoats. All the students expelled arbitrarily and for participating in the demonstrations for free and fair elections must be reinstated unconditionally. Threats and intimidations against students and their leaders will not help and must be stopped. The students must be allowed to have student leaders elected through free and fair elections. Imposition of thugs and sycophants of corrupt university administrators as student leaders must not be accepted by the government, public or students. In the meanwhile, the vice chancellors and university administrators responsible for the corruption and anarchy in the universities must be sacked and prosecuted for their crimes. The universities, including UoN that have been closed arbitrarily must be opened immediately.

SDP believes that the students have a right and duty to fight for their rights, academic freedom and to clean their learning institutions of corruption, dictatorship and reaction. In so doing, comrades, you should avoid falling in the trap of anarchy that leads to destruction of property and public order. For anarchy does not help just causes.

THE ETHNIC PROFILING OF KENYAN SOMALIS IS UNACCEPTABLE: THE JUBILEE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DEVISE PROPER METHODS OF FIGHTING TERRORISM

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
24 April 2014

For the past few weeks, the Jubilee Government has been conducting what it refers to as security/anti-terrorism operations, concentrated in Nairobi's Eastleigh estate and other neighbourhoods where Kenyan Somalis and average African foreigners usually reside.

The SDP has been following these "security" operations keenly, and is disappointed by the blatantly unconstitutional methods that the government is using in the name of fighting terrorism.

Kenyan Somalis continue to be roughed up, rounded up in police trucks and transported to various police stations in the country, where many are detained for more than eight days, before being taken to Kasarani National Stadium for screening. This is irrespective of whether those Somalis hold Kenyan identity cards, passports or any other documents that prove their citizenship. The Security Forces are treating every Somali as a terrorist suspect.

All this is in complete contravention of the Kenyan Constitution, especially Articles 10, 28, 29, 32, 44, 47, 49 and 50.

The Jubilee Government seems to borrow this brutal script from British colonialism era, where they would administer communal punishment for what they considered crimes committed by some individuals of certain ethnic groups.

Instead of respecting the rights of the Kenyan Somalis, and finding better ways of fighting terrorism and crime, the Jubilee

Government has chosen to seek the support of the Somali political, religious and business leaders through cajoling them, intimidating them, and maybe even bribing them to support the inhumane acts against the Kenyan Somalis.

The SDP is also perturbed by the manner in which the Jubilee administration is treating African urban refugees, and immigrants from other African countries, in total disregard to international conventions and norms. This betrays the administration's true standpoint on Pan-Africanism and African Unity, which the President himself claimed to espouse in his campaign to save himself from the ICC prosecutions.

The Jubilee Government should know that the success of its anti-terrorism operations will not be measured by the number of Africans they deport, or the number of immigrants that they take to the refugee camps. The success of their operation will be measured by the arrests and prosecution of real terrorists, and the reduction and total elimination of acts of terrorism in the country.

The fact that even after weeks of the "security" operation in Eastleigh and its environs, a bomb could still explode in a police station, killing innocent Kenyans, just a short distance from Eastleigh not only shows that the strategy that the Security forces are using to combat terrorism is futile, but it also calls for a shakeup at the helm of Kenya's security heads for carelessness and cluelessness in the general fight against terrorism and crime.

The fight against terrorism, just like any other crime can only be fought by eradicating corruption, use of intelligence, working with the people, and improving the livelihood of the people through creation of jobs, lowering the cost of living and implementation of Article 43 of our constitution.

Unfortunately, the National Intelligence Service is keener on spying on progressive politicians and patriots who dedicate their

lives to bettering this country, while letting criminals operate freely.

The SDP demands for the immediate end of the arbitrary searches, arrests, and detentions of Kenyan Somalis and legitimate refugees. The SDP also demands for a restructuring of the country's security heads, and the bolstering of Security in all regions of the country, so as to eradicate the acts of terrorism, and reduce crime throughout the country.

We remind President Uhuru Kenyatta that promoting/entrenching hate against the Somalis, and profiling Somalis or any other people is not only illegal, but is also counterproductive in fighting crime. We also remind him that the future will hold him personally responsible for the crimes that his government is committing in the name of security operations.

Indeed, Article 6 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defines Genocide to include "causing serious bodily **or mental harm** to members of an ethnic group, in whole or in part (with an intention to destroy it)."

We ask all Kenyans to defend the rights of every other Kenyan (and foreigner) because that is the right thing to do. The fact that some Somali leaders are supporting this inhuman campaign does not justify the silence of Kenyans from other political actors, civil society organisations, and other communities in general.

"First they came for the Communists, and I did not speak out-
Because I was not a Communist.
Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I did not speak out-
Because I was not a Trade Unionist.
Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out-
Because I was not a Jew.
Then they came for me, and there was no one left to speak for me."

Martin Neimoller (1892-1984)

BUDGET 2020/2021: FIRMING MONOPOLY CAPITAL, BAILING OUT THE RICH, LEAVING OUT THE WORKERS

Gitahi Ngunyi, Secretary for Workers and Cooperatives - CPK
22 July 2020

The genius in the budget for the financial year 2020/2021 was not how the treasury kept the tradition for capitalist planning by prioritising profiteering and monopoly capital but how the budget statement presented to parliament and the public through live broadcast was coached to sound progressive.

The most conspicuous elements of the budget are the allocations made by the treasury for the rescue of big businesses from the ravages of the Corona Virus pandemic. Flower farmers were allocated Sh1.5 billion as a COVID-19 recovery package while tourism has been allocated Sh3 billion for "renovation and recovery."

Let us look at the flower farms bailout critically. The flower farms in Kenya are owned by multinationals such as Unilever, Finlays, and connected political families such as the Kenyattas, the Mois, the Kuleis, and the Biwotts. In other words, the bailout package for the flower farms is aimed at benefiting the business interests of the capitalist class that continues to have overbearing weight on the working class in Kenya.

It is important to remember that the big flower farmers were very quick to fire workers, who are among the poorest paid in Kenya, when international flights were grounded globally. Compared to the handful of wealthy flower farmers, the workers in the floriculture industry are estimated to be slightly over 100,000. Most of these workers are currently jobless and, in some cases, homeless (for those who live outside the flower farms and could not afford to continue paying rent) and with no safety net

package. The biggest proportion of workers in the industry are women.

A structure similar to the floriculture industry is replicated in the tourism industry. The tourism sector is largely owned by multinationals (Intercontinental hotels, Hilton, Radisson Blu, Kempinski, Fairmont, Sheraton) and the powerful political families such as the Kenyattas (Heritage). All these hotels predictably dismissed their workers on the first signs of COVID-19 economic stress.

Conservative estimates put the number of workers in the hospitality industry (hotels and restaurants) at 2.2 million. In line with the capitalist tradition, while the Treasury was quick to allocate the "renovation and restructuring" package to the hotel industry owners, it conveniently forgot to allocate anything to provide the hotel workers with a safety net to help them cope with their new status as unemployed workers.

The Treasury appears to have spent sleepless nights charting new ways to elevate and expand the interest of both local and international capitalists. For example, the Treasury has given conservancies a thumbs up with an allocation of Sh2 billion. Most conservancies are established by rich foreigners who use the cover of conservation not only to extract and expatriate money to foreign countries but also to steal land from pastoralist communities in Kenya.

Through the finance bill 2020, the Treasury is seeking to open the road for the capitalists to use workers' savings for their speculative adventures. One of the proposals that may have escaped the notice of trade unions is the revision of pension funds regulations to allow pension managers to invest 10 percent of the funds in private equity and venture capital.

To understand the full importance of this proposed revision, one has to look at the structure of the pension industry in Kenya. The pension industry in Kenya has assets valued at Sh1.1 trillion according to the pension industry performance report of 2018. Out of this, only assets valued Sh221 billion are held by the National Social Security Fund (NSSF). The rest of the assets (Sh990 billion) are held and managed by private fund managers who include asset management firms established by both local and multinational insurance groups, banks, investment banks, and stock brokerages.

These fund managers will now be allowed to invest over Sh116 billion of the workers' savings into the riskiest businesses locally and internationally. Private Equity, in short PE, and Venture Capital are generally speculative business activities that combine lending and purchase of shares to get a return from promising businesses over a defined period usually between five to 10 years.

Organisations or individuals who put their funds in PE or Venture Capital Funds are not guaranteed that they will retain their money although the PE Firm owners guarantee that they will conduct due diligence before investing in a company. Losses are very common in the Private Equity business and happen to firms with the biggest names in the industry. Usually, the biggest PE firms are operated by capitalists with very heavy connections in governments. That is the case for Carlyle Group for example which is a firm set up by former US Government Officials. The range of businesses that PE firms invest includes ordinary and simple operations businesses such as chemists and shops to complex businesses such as manufacture and trade in military equipment and services.

It is in this sophisticated and risky environment run by powerful and sometimes untouchable forces that the Treasury now wants Sh116 billion worth of Kenyan workers' savings to be invested for non-guaranteed high returns.

It should not be lost to the readers that PE and Venture Capital are deemed as effective tools for the implementation of neoliberal policies. Because they invest over a defined period, PE and Venture Capital employ aggressive tactics in companies where they invest to get the highest returns over the shortest period possible. Such tactics include retrenchment of workers, conversion of employment terms from permanent and pensionable to short contract terms, low wages for lower cadre workers, and payment of poor prices to suppliers.

Still in the Finance Act, the Treasury has revised provisions on revenue collection to allow private sector players who participate in the public-private partnership (PPP) ventures to collect road tolls from the public. In his budget statement, Treasury CS explained that this was a logical step given that the government had fully embraced PPP. He mentioned that there are transport, energy, health, housing, and manufacturing projects worth Sh200 billion under PPP pipeline.

What the CS did not say is the private firms that will undertake the PPP projects will only undertake the implementation of the projects with loans guaranteed by the same government. He did not also mention that the private firms that will undertake the project will be largely foreign and loans will come from home countries of the companies involved. In short, CS failed to mention that the entire PPP project is largely beneficial to monopoly capital and will be to the disadvantage of the Kenyan workers and peasants who provide the biggest contribution to the tax basket.

One confounding aspect of the budget is the increased role that the Treasury has given to monopoly capital. Take the case of Kenya Mortgage Refinancing Corporation (KMRC) for example. The firm's role is to reduce the interest rates for mortgages to "affordable levels" for households with incomes less than Sh150,000 per month. In this year's budget, the government has allocated the firm Sh2 billion. At the same time, the CS says the government has mobilized another Sh35 billion from "development partners."

The plan for the firm looks all noble and decent until the firm is unbundled from a non-capitalist lens. From the outset, it must be stated that the company is a product of the lobbying by Kenyan banks where the Kenyattas have a huge interest. The firm is owned by the banks and Saccos.

However, the operations of the KMRC are largely dependent on Sh25 billion loan from the World Bank which will be wired in the course of the financial period. There is also a Sh10 billion loan from African Development Bank which is expected to be wired during the financial year.

The most curious aspect of the KMRC development is that International Financial Corporation (IFC), the World Bank private-sector lending arm, will be handed shareholding in the corporation.

In other words, the Kenyan housing and mortgage market is just about to be handed to the World Bank. The full importance of the huge influence of World Bank funding to the firm is two-fold. First, all current homes on a mortgage will be transferred to the corporation which is equivalent to handing over the properties of Kenyans to a corporation that will be largely owned by the World Bank. Secondly, workers who acquire homes through

mortgages envisaged in the affordable homes programme will be directly indebted to the World Bank.

In the meantime, it should be remembered there has been a coordinated plot by the World Bank and Kenyan government officials to lock out workers from controlling the housing market through pension funds. Traditionally, NSSF has been a big player in developing working-class homes. But corruption and government interference in the fund has meant that it cannot plan and see through its socially transforming programmes.

Having looked at how the bulk of the budget and the 2020 financial bill entrenches the interests of both local and international capital at the expense of the workers and peasants, I will now focus on the Treasury's poor attempt to fuse in a progressive tone in the budget.

From the theme to the meat of the statement presented on the floor of parliament on July 1, 2020, by Cabinet Secretary for Treasury Ambassador Ukur Yattani, the budget statement is a clear case of bite and blow.

The theme, "Stimulating the Economy to Safeguard Livelihoods, Jobs, Businesses and Industrial Recovery," had all the sounding of progressiveness with words carefully selected to fit in the lingua used in social justice and the human rights-based approach to development. Buzz words such as "safeguarding livelihoods" gives the impression of a government plan modelled around the needs of the people whose livelihoods have been severely threatened. Of course there is no doubt that Kenyans' livelihoods have been put on the edge since the emergence of the novel coronavirus.

To give the words real meaning, the statement outlined some measures that the government has factored in the financial year plan. The measures include an economic stimulus package that

will see the government pushing funds to the economy. Included in the package is an allocation of Sh2 billion for additional classrooms in secondary schools, Sh1.9 billion to purchase school desks from local artisans, Sh2.1 to recruit 10,000 intern teachers and Sh700 million to recruit ICT interns for digital learning in public schools.

Then there is also the allocation of Sh500 million for the purchase of hospital beds from local artisans, Sh25 million to purchase walk-through sanitisers (never mind that the ministry of health has warned against the use of the walk-through sanitisers) and Sh1.2 billion to recruit 5,000 health workers for one year. For small businesses, the Treasury has allocated Sh3 billion for a national credit guarantee scheme to facilitate collateral-free loans. Further, Sh5 billion was allocated to rehabilitate damaged rural roads and footbridges and Sh10 billion for "Kazi Mtaani" aimed at creating short term jobs for 200,000 unemployed urban youths. The stimulus package is valued at Sh20 billion.

All these allocations sound good until they are given deeper scrutiny. The first fact that emerges on these measures to "safeguard livelihoods" is their temporal nature. 90 percent of the projects envisaged in the stimulus package are short-term ranging from 3 months to 12 months and have no sustainability mechanisms. Intern teachers and the health workers to be recruited in the package will only work for just 12 months while the artisans will benefit from the one-off purchase of their products.

But the most outstanding fact is the planned wastage in the package—waste of financial resources and waste of worker's time. A clear example of the planned wastage in the package is the Kazi Mtaani project. According to the planners of the project, the unemployed youths will be used to unblock sewage systems,

clear grass in urban centres and to remove garbage from urban markets. These tasks are ordinarily undertaken by the county government authorities in the case of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, and other centres. These urban counties spend billions of shillings every year to do these tasks and have permanent and pensionable employees who are dedicated to the accomplishment of these tasks.

Then, there is the aspect of human wastage. While the youths to be employed in the project will rake some income from the project, the earning will only be for a short term of three months. After three months, the youths will fall back to unemployment. Worst of all is that they will neither get to use/hone the skills that they already have, nor will they gain any meaningful skills that could help them get into self-employment or otherwise.

The only reason that can be fathomed as an explanation to the duplication of function by the national government is the need to create an avenue for pilfering national resources. Similar projects in the past have ended up leaving the youth without the promised wages, while senior administration officials steal the rest of the money (hence the popular phrase, *kazi kwa vijana, pesa kwa wazee*).

It is crucial to note that the stimulus package will largely be funded through international debt, mainly sourced from the World Bank.

This means that in the next five years, the country will largely be privatised and the fate of the workers and peasants' livelihoods will be at the hands of billionaires supported by the World Bank. If this is not reversed, the hope for the economic democracy envisioned in the constitution (2010) will dim and then disappear. Already, workers in education and healthcare who were placed under the mercy of private school and hospital owners through

liberalisation of the economy are suffering from low wages and regular retrenchments; their livelihoods have been placed under the capitalist cycles of boom and bust. Enter COVID-19 and they have nowhere to run to.

The future that the Kenya government bureaucrats are steering Kenya into, under the tutorship of the World Bank and IMF, is very bleak for the workers and peasants. However, the dangers of the future that we are being shepherded into is not visible to the majority of the Kenyan workers and peasants because the Kenyan billionaire owned press does everything possible to paint rosy pictures of privatisation while glossing over the pain caused on workers and peasants.

The work is cut out for cadres of the Communist Party of Kenya, Trade Unions, Farmers Cooperatives, progressive forces in the civil society, and progressive religious formations. For cadres of the Communist Party, the biggest responsibility is to expose the neoliberal traps in the government plans and their dangers to the workers and the peasants. This should be done using credible Marxist analysis of statistics against plans by the government. Sharing this publication with the trade unions, cooperatives and progressive forces in the civil society will be an important duty of the cadres as they strive to meet their obligation of educating the masses.

Secondly, the cadres will have to mobilise the masses to take advantage of the few progressive aspects of the budget to improve the welfare of the people in the short term. But more importantly, the cadres should use all available means to organise and mobilise the masses to oppose the neoliberal aspects of the budget.

CAPTURING THE DEBATE ON KENYA'S 2022 NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND THE QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP FROM THE LENSES OF HISTORY

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
7 April 2020

Of late, a question has emerged in the Kenyan print, electronic and social media regarding who is best suited to be the President of Kenya in 2022 and beyond. Simply put: Will the President come from the sons and daughters of millionaires and billionaires who inherited their money, property, and political leadership positions from their parents who acquired their wealth through primitive accumulation, state positions, corruption, and unbridled capitalism consequently ravaging the country and the masses to this day?

Or should the President emerge from the sons and daughters of the poor peasants and workers who rose from the underclass and somehow managed to acquire and own billions of money and immense properties which helped them to wriggle themselves into the positions of political and economic power in the country that they occupy today?

To be specific, is it the likes of Uhuru, Raila, Gideon or Musalia, the sons of Kenyatta, Odinga, Moi, and Mudavadi, respectively, who inherited and benefited immensely from their fathers' political positions, influence and wealth and who today are conspiring to unite to control and perpetuate the political dynasties through the so-called Handshake, Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) constitutional amendments, and other arrangements for the coming 2022 national elections?

Or is it the so-called hustlers, the likes of William Ruto, Kalonzo Musyoka and Co, the sons and daughters of poor

peasants and workers and who claim to have earned their wealth and political positions not from inheritance but "through hustling and solid personal efforts and initiatives"?

These questions are discussed and debated every day in public platforms including public meetings, media, churches, mosques and funerals. President Uhuru Kenyatta too entered this debate a few months ago during his late father's "last national anniversary". He said that to be a leader in and for Kenya, it does not matter who is or was your father or mother or what social class you come or came from. The most important thing, he said, is that you are ready and committed to serving Kenyans as a good leader. His concept of a good leader is not, of course, similar to that of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK).

The President's Handshake-BBI friend, conspirator and collaborator ODM leader Raila Odinga, the populist politician son of the progressive nationalist, the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, the first Vice President of Kenya, entered this debate too, several times with similar views as Uhuru's. He repeated the question during the burial of the second President of Kenya, Daniel Moi, to defend the right of Kenya's ruling class to perpetuate their reactionary political and economic dynasties in power claiming that all Kenyans originated from poverty and therefore have equal rights and opportunities in the struggle for political power through multiparty elections!

At the same time, the so-called hustlers, William Ruto and his supporters, have been warning Kenyans against perpetuating the political and economic dynasties of Kenya in power if the country is to change and move forward. They have been calling upon Kenyans to use their votes to stop the continuation of political and economic dynasties in 2022 by electing Ruto, the son of a peasant, to be President of Kenya—a person of their class

origin. What they do not say, however, is that originating from the same class does not necessarily mean we belong to the same class today.

Ordinary people too have also not been left out of the debate either: is it a rich or poor person who will save Kenya? Who is best suited to be Kenya's President after Uhuru's term expires? Should it be a person from the class of the rich or that of the poor? From the working class or the capitalist class? From the common men and women or the wealthy elites?

It is for the above reasons, and the importance of the question of leadership in the struggle for social and national liberation, that we wish to state the position of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) in this debate. CPK's position also appears in the article "2022 Elections, Kenyans think out of the box!" which is published in the Website of the party. It is the Marxist-Leninist position regarding revolutionary struggles, leadership, and political power which is informed by historical materialism.

To begin with, history has shown that being from a rich or poor class does not automatically determine the role an individual could or could not play in progressive or revolutionary struggle and leadership. What is important is what class position and ideology one embraces and identifies within the struggle for leadership, and what socio-economic system the leadership contest is all about. It is a question concerning whether the leader is progressive or reactionary, revolutionary or counterrevolutionary, in a specific material and historical conditions.

A few examples from history will suffice to elaborate on this.

In history, Jesus Christ who was the son of poor parents from the class of slaves in the nation then under Roman colonialism decided to identify with his class of slaves and fought against the

reactionary ideas and practices of maintaining the status quo of slavery and colonialism.

Jesus always identified with his class and struggled for the liberation of poor and common men and women. He was a revolutionary of his time who always combatted reactionary ideas and the oppressive system of slavery and colonialism. For this, he was condemned to death by the class of Jew slave owners and the Roman colonial authorities both of who he threatened and who crucified him on the cross as a consequence.

Fortunately, history is always kind to revolutionaries and people's heroes who sacrifice for the freedom and liberation of the majority: thus for his heroic revolutionary contribution and sacrifice for the masses of his time, Jesus Christ the son of a poor carpenter who was murdered when he was only 33 years old left a great historical legacy. Today, 2020 years after his death, Jesus Christ is still remembered and is even worshipped as God.

Now, had Saul not lived and turned into Paul by abandoning the reactionary ideas of the class of slave owners to which he was born, and by renouncing the slavery and colonial systems of the exploiters and oppressors, there would not have been Christianity today.

Unlike Jesus, Paul was born from the privileged class of slave owners and as a consequence was able to receive good education to become a great intellectual, thinker, and philosopher of his time. After opposing the revolutionary ideas of Jesus and persecuting his disciples he one day saw the light, committed class suicide, and joined the class of the poor and oppressed of his time in the liberation struggle against slavery and Roman colonialism.

Paul's commitment to his Christian ideas—that were progressive and even revolutionary then—that he not only

articulated, wrote about and preached eloquently while spreading the Christian gospel in the course of his extensive travels throughout the region then, threatened the Jewish slave owners ruling class and the state of the Roman empire.

As a consequence, Paul was arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and persecuted many times over before he was finally brutally executed for his militant revolutionary Christian ideas and activities that he refused to denounce.

But for his Christian ideology and leadership at the time, Paul managed to leave behind the legacy of salvaging Christianity by taking it from the Jews and spreading it to the whole world. Today he is celebrated as a saint. Paul is in the Bible and his ideas which form the basis of Christian philosophy are read and studied every day.

Karl Marx did not come from the class of the poor but from the middle class. His parents were educated civil servants of the royal administration. But this did not stop him from becoming the founder of scientific communism. Marx, who achieved higher university education at young age, identified his role as a human being: an independent, conscious, creative social being, and committed himself to his revolutionary obligations under the historical and material conditions of his time. He stretched his intellectual capabilities to unimaginable levels in the service of the struggle for total freedom and liberation of human individuals and society: communism.

Marx not only founded the revolutionary theory and ideology for the liberation struggle of the working class and all the exploited and oppressed, but he was also a militant mobiliser, organiser and leader of international worker's political parties and organizations. For this, he was feared by the authorities of the

feudal and capitalist classes and was always persecuted throughout Europe.

Despite the life of hardship and poverty that was imposed upon him by the states of the exploiters and oppressors, Marx, by sheer persistence, struggle, commitment, and revolutionary resilience managed to leave to the world the legacy of the theory and ideology of scientific communism that guides socialist revolutionary struggles to this day.

Marx's lifetime friend, comrade, and devoted collaborator in founding scientific socialism and in organising and leading workers' revolutionary struggles was Fredrick Engels. Fredrick Engels, an organic great communist intellectual, was the son of a rich industrialist. He was from the bourgeoisie class. But this did not prevent him from identifying with the working class and socialist revolutionaries and with Marx in fighting for communism, freedom, and liberation of the poor in theory and practice. Were it not for his frequent financial and moral contributions to Marx and Marx's family, Marx would not have been able to accomplish the great revolutionary tasks he did despite his unsurpassed resilience. After his death, Fredrick Engels remains a communist legend side by side with Karl Marx.

Vladimir Lenin was the son of a middle-class family that was even known to the royal class of Russia of Tsar Nicolas. However, this did not prevent him from identifying with the workers and working-class and organising and leading their revolutionary struggle that ultimately triumphed as the first socialist revolution in the world, the Great October 1917 Revolution. Lenin the leader of the first socialist country in the world made such a significant contribution to the theory, ideology, and practice of socialism that today his name appears

side by side with that of the founder of scientific communism: thus Marxism-Leninism.

Joseph Stalin was the son of a shoemaker and a mother from a humble working-class background. His family was always living and struggling with the social contradictions and hardships of the families and homes of the working class and the poor. Despite this and early religious influence, Stalin gained class consciousness, identified with his class origin, adopted communism, and became one of the greatest communist underground mobilisers of the workers in the struggle against Tsarist feudalism and capitalism. He was a distinguished follower of Lenin and Marx in theory and practice and left a wealth of literature in this regard.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin, despite having been born in Georgia, took over from Lenin as the leader of the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet Union. It was Stalin and his leadership that mobilised communists, the working class, and the anti-fascist forces of Russia, Soviet Union, Europe, and the world that after one of the greatest sacrifices ever made by human beings, managed to defeat Hitler and liberate the world from fascism.

Apart from his contributions to the theory and practice of socialism and socialist internationalism, Stalin led Russia towards becoming a great scientific, technological, industrial, and military superpower in the world. Thus, despite his humble background, Stalin is remembered as a communist revolutionary leader and legend.

Mao Zedong was the son of a rich farmer and peasant. However, Mao identified with the peasants, workers, the poor, and all the people of China exploited and oppressed by feudalism, capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism.

Having adopted communism as the ideology of the struggle for the liberation and freedom of the exploited and oppressed, Chairman Mao expounded Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice, making a huge and significant contribution to its scientific development and application to the revolutionary struggle of his country and the world.

Mao perfected the theory of peoples' war and created a large communist army, movement, and party that applied guerrilla war tactics and strategies, among others in the peoples' war that defeated feudalism, capitalism, Japanese and US imperialism, and established the socialist state in China in 1949.

A comrade of Joseph Stalin, Chairman Mao was a great communist internationalist who provided theoretical, moral, and material support to the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles in the world. Under his communist leadership of China, Mao led the building of the foundation of the socialist development path that transformed China from a peasant and feudal economy into a great scientific, technological, industrial, military and economic superpower it is today.

Kim Il Sung was the son of poor working-class parents but who were educated and had always been patriots and revolutionaries. His family made great sacrifices in the course of the struggle for the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonialism, feudalism, and capitalism.

A great example of a communist hero from a tender age, Kim Il Sung formed, organised and led Korea's national liberation struggle and communist army and movement that was at the vanguard of the war that liberated North Korea from Japanese fascist colonialism.

After independence from Japanese colonialism, Kim Il Sung also led the war that defeated the invasion of his country by US

imperialism. His Juche communist ideology has transformed North Korea from a poor and backward feudal peasant economy dominated by foreign capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism into a true independent industrial self-reliant socialist nation that makes imperialism tremble.

A communist internationalist leader, Kim Il Sung was always at the forefront of offering moral and material solidarity to the people and nations in the world struggling for social and national liberation. After independence, many Kenyans received higher and technical education from North Korea.

Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban, revolution was the son of a Spanish immigrant who became a big landlord owning thousands of acres of land in Cuba. Yet, Fidel and his brother Raul denounced the privileges of the ruling class and joined the poor masses of Cuba from the class of peasants, former slaves and workers to fight against dictatorship, US colonialism and for democracy, social and national liberation.

After the revolution and the declaration of socialism and implementation of land reforms which included nationalisation of large estates, the Castro family land was also nationalised. Thus Fidel and his brother committed real class suicide to spearhead the socialist revolution in Cuba together with the masses and other Cuban revolutionaries.

Today Fidel, his comrades, and brothers, amongst them a medical doctor and communist internationalist who was born in a middle-class family in Argentina—Ernesto Che Guevara—are communist heroes and icons of their kind. They have left a country that is independent, resilient, and respected amidst the longest and most brutal economic, commercial, and financial blockades ever imposed against any country by imperialism led by the United States of America. The leadership of Fidel and the

Communist Party of Cuba continues to teach the world by example and selfless sacrifice how we should strive to build a society that nurtures socialist internationalism to recreate people of high moral values that use their abilities to sacrifice, work and serve humanity in their countries and world.

The Cuban doctors who volunteer and sacrifice to provide medical services to the people in need and during calamities not only in their own country but also throughout the world, including Kenya, are an example of the legacy of the communist leadership of Fidel Castro and his comrades.

In Africa, Julius Kambarage Nyerere was the son of a traditional Chief of the Zanaki in Western Tanzania near Lake Victoria. Yet, after he returned to Tanganyika from higher education studies in the United Kingdom, he immediately joined the masses of his country who were then being exploited and oppressed by colonialism. Nyerere went to the forefront of the national liberation struggle of not only Tanganyika but the whole of East Africa. A convinced Pan-Africanist, Nyerere was ready to delay the declaration of the independence of Tanganyika to declare it together and at the same time with that of Uganda and Kenya to form the united nation of East Africa immediately after Uhuru.

After independence, and particularly in 1967 under his guidance, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) made the Arusha Declaration that ushered Tanzania along the development path of socialism, Ujamaa. He then united Tanganyika and Zanzibar to found Tanzania and Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) which was then a socialist party.

Under the leadership of Nyerere, Tanzania played a leading role in offering moral, political, material and military support to the struggle of the people of Southern Africa and all the people

the continent and world struggling to liberate their people and nations from racism, colonialism, and imperialism, including Palestine.

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, as he was popularly known, was a prolific writer and teacher of African socialist morality and culture. His leadership and teachings form a great legacy of revolutionary leadership that inspires the people of Tanzania who are today struggling against dictatorship, state corruption, tribalism, neo-colonial capitalism and reactionary leadership, all which is ravaging the majority of Tanzanians today and has destroyed all the socialist achievements made by Nyerere's leadership.

Like Nyerere, Nelson Mandela was the son of a traditional Chief. Yet, from a youthful age, Mandela joined South Africa's national liberation struggle on the side of the discriminated, exploited, and oppressed majority people of South Africa. He militantly struggled against the brutal systems of apartheid, capitalism, and imperialism. As a young lawyer, he defended the poor in the courts free of charge. Mandela became a member of the African National Congress (ANC), an avid defender and mobiliser of the popular masses of his country and a founder and organiser of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP).

Mandela was arrested and tried for treason. He refused to denounce the ANC and the armed national liberation struggle—and despite his principled, articulate, and fearless defence akin to that of Fidel Castro—he was sentenced to prison for life. He served 27 years in prison for refusing to denounce the armed struggle, even after becoming the most important political prisoner in the world.

When he was finally released from prison, Mandela then at an old age reluctantly accepted to become the first Black president of South Africa. He served as President for five years. When he died Mandela left behind an everlasting legacy about the extent of which an individual can sacrifice for the cause of freedom and humane society and world.

Kwame Nkrumah, the greatest Pan-Africanist and founder President of independent Ghana, the first country in Africa to free itself from colonialism, was the son of a fishmonger father and a hawker mother. Having identified with the class of the poor and oppressed of his country and continent, Nkrumah in his later years became a committed communist. He made contributions to the theory, ideology, and practice of Marxism-Leninism which he applied to the African conditions. He led the liberation struggle of Ghana and became the founder President of the country. He believed and struggled for a united socialist Africa. Nkrumah was overthrown from power by neo-colonial puppets in the service of US imperialism, but his socialist vision of a United States of Africa remains as firm as a rock and will continue to inspire the unity of African revolutionaries.

Samora Machel was the son of peasant parents. He, a migrant worker in South Africa, became a communist and was one of the founders of the FRELIMO party and movement that led the national liberation armed struggle that ultimately liberated Mozambique from the Portuguese colonialism. Samora was a committed communist, Pan-Africanist and internationalist who after the independence of Mozambique offered moral, material, and military support to liberation struggles in Southern Africa and Portuguese colonies of Angola and Guinea Bissau, Principe and Sao Tome.

Samora was assassinated by the apartheid and imperialist forces while spearheading the anti-imperialist and anti-racist war and consolidating the freedom gains made by Mozambique through following the socialist path of development.

Chris Hani was the son of a migrant worker. His mother was a farmworker who struggled to eke a living to raise her poor and impoverished family. All this did not stop Chris from becoming an organic revolutionary intellectual, underground struggle organiser and mobiliser. Chris rose to become the commander of the military wing of the ANC. He also became the Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party (SACP). On the eve of South Africa's independence from apartheid and colonialism, Chris was assassinated by the apartheid and imperialist forces to prevent him and the SACP from taking over leadership and political power from Mandela hence becoming the second Black President of South Africa who would have led South Africa along the development path of socialism.

Amilcar Cabral was the son of a wealthy landowning family that was also very well educated. Amilcar went into the best schools that enabled him to obtain higher education and training. Yet, Amilcar became the political and military leader of the national liberation war of the people of Guinea Bissau against Portuguese colonialism. He was a committed internationalist and socialist revolutionary and fought for the social and national liberation of the poor and all exploited and oppressed people in Africa and the world.

Amilcar was assassinated by colonial and imperialist forces on the eve of the independence of Guinea Bissau. He left a wealth of literature on the theory and ideology of socialism and people's war applied in African conditions that we still use in our revolutionary struggles today.

Kenya has also produced its own people's leaders and heroes who identified and implemented the historical tasks of their time and circumstances and made significant contributions and sacrifices for freedom and national liberation in the process. The majority of these people's heroes, who rolled forward the wheel of Kenya's history, emerged from poor peasants and working-class backgrounds to identify and perform their historical tasks for Kenya's and Africa's freedom. They were motivated not by egoism but by the desire to contribute to the struggle for freedom, social and national liberation and for human dignity that Africans were robbed of by European colonialism.

We remember our ancestors who led the resistance against Arab, Portuguese and British invasion and colonialism from early times of Kenya's history. We mention names such as Shee Mvita who was the last king of Mombasa murdered by the Portuguese invaders defending his people and nation. Mekatilili wa Meza stands out as the great woman leader of the Mijikenda who bravely led men and women to rebel against British colonialism. Mwangeka wa Malowa the militant warrior from Taita Hills refused the colonial invaders from crisscrossing Taita land as though it had no owners. We celebrate Waiyaki wa Hinga from the Kikuyu who resisted British capitalism and imperialism in the early times. We are proud of Koitalel Arap Samoei who led Nandi warriors to fight and defeat the colonial Invaders in the Rift Valley. Each Kenyan ethnic group resisted colonialism in its own way and produced its leaders and heroes accordingly.

We also celebrate the heroes of the 1920s, who included Harry Thuku and Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru who led demonstrations in the streets of Nairobi and other towns against racial discrimination, the humiliation of carrying colonial passes and for worker's rights and freedom from colonialism and for the

dignity of Africans in their own country. We remember their courageous struggles against the arrogance and racism perpetrated by British settlers and colonial laws against Kenyans. The blood they shed for our country in the process was not for nothing.

We do not forget the nationalists of the 1940s who provided leadership in the anti-colonial struggle by writing numerous petitions to the colonial government exposing the atrocities that were being perpetrated by the British settlers and state against Africans. Their petitions and appeals to the colonial oppressors were the seeds of the revolutionary struggle for national liberation to come. Johnstone Kamau—later known as Jomo Kenyatta—was sent to Britain by these leaders of the Kenyan masses. They organised fundraising to raise money to send him to London to deliver these appeals directly to the British government.

We shall forever celebrate the memory of the radical trade union leaders who used to meet at Kiburi House Nairobi to strategize about the struggle of worker's rights and also national liberation by using all means possible, including armed struggle. These militant leaders, who included Bildad Kaggia, Eliud Mutonyi, Chege Kibacia, Makhan Singh, Isaak Gathanju and Pio Gama Pinto, were inspired and motivated not by egoistic interests but by the desire to realise worker's rights and Kenya's freedom from colonialism and the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person. It is for these reasons that they were part and parcel of the Mau Mau movement. They also disagreed with the opportunistic and selfish motives of Jomo Kenyatta before and after the independence of Kenya from British colonialism.

The Land and Freedom Army and Movement (popularly known as Mau Mau) was the highest form of the struggle for the

national liberation of Kenya. In the early 1950s, when it had become apparent that Kenya would not achieve its independence through peaceful means which had been used but violated by the colonial oppressors for several decades, the sons and daughters of Kenyan peasants and workers decided to take up arms. Thus the gallant Mau Mau military leaders launched one of the first and most famous anti-colonial wars in Africa. The leaders and generals of the guerrilla war were semi-illiterate peasants' youth, but despite this they organised and fought the war that defeated the mighty colonial British army in Kenya.

The valiant Mau Mau national liberation army and movement produced some of the greatest heroes and leaders in the history of our country. These included Field Marshal Dedan Kimaathi wa Waciuri, Stanley Mathenge, Alice Mukami Kimaathi, Muriuki Kimotho, General Tanganyika, General Kariba, General China, Genera Karuiki Kago and many others. They were people's leaders and heroes because they identified their task set for them by historical circumstances and made great sacrifices in the war of national liberation of Kenya. They gave all they could to accomplish their historical obligations.

These heroes entered the forests and the underground and endured unimaginable difficulties and sufferings without giving up for the sake of the liberation of Kenya. When they were arrested, tortured, detained, and imprisoned by the colonial state, they refused to denounce the national liberation war. Many of these patriots were tortured to death or executed by the enemy in the process. They were progressive nationalists and revolutionaries with a vision of a Kenya made up of all ethnic groups of the country living and developing peacefully and united in a free and independent nation.

The Mau Mau fought for the return of the land of Kenyans, stolen by the European settlers and colonialists, to the peasants to whom it belonged and to the tillers who needed it. Their leaders dreamt of, fought for, and shed their blood for a Kenya where all citizens would live in peace, equality, and freedom with social justice without exploitation of person by person.

Those who took over the leadership of Kenya after British colonialism was forced to give Kenya her hard-won independence betrayed the struggle and vision of Mau Mau and the Kenyan heroes who had always resisted and struggled against the colonisation of our country. The present Kenyan leadership that started with that of the founder President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, is part and parcel of this betrayal as they are the root cause of the political, social and economic problems of Kenya today.

Immediately after independence in 1963, there were two opposing factions of leadership in Kenya. There was the progressive leadership led by the first Vice President of Kenya Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and the other led by President Jomo Kenyatta.

Odinga was the son of a traditional Luo Chief. He received a good education and professional training. From his student and youthful age, he rebelled against colonial establishment, rule, and culture. He was a successful businessman too and became one of the richest Kenyans before and after independence.

However, all this did not stop Odinga from being a radical progressive nationalist who was at the forefront of the national liberation struggle. Being an anti-colonial militant and mobiliser he was feared and hated by the colonial authorities. Odinga played the role of organising, mobilising and uniting progressive and revolutionary organisations and forces in Kenya, Africa, and

the world to demand the release of political prisoners, including Kenyatta. He refused to form a government without Kenyatta.

After independence, Odinga became the Vice President of Kenyatta. But it did not take long before the two differed and formed different political factions. The faction of Kenyatta retained the then ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) political party and state power alongside that of second President of Kenya Daniel Arap Moi's Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) party.

Odinga had strong links with progressive and revolutionary people, leaders and organisations in Kenya, Africa, and the world. He had connections with the Soviet Union and communist countries. Because of this, he sent many Kenyans to study in Russia, Eastern European countries, and North Korea. Among those students were his sons, Oburu who studied in Russia and Raila in East Germany. Unfortunately, like most of the students who benefited from the scholarship of the communist countries, Odinga's sons too did not use their knowledge and experience to struggle for socialism in Kenya as Odinga would have wished. His sons returned to be defenders and beneficiaries of the neo-colonial capitalist system. The sons perpetuate reactionary tribalism politics driven by greed and self-aggrandizement while misusing their father's political legacy.

As a consequence of his Pan-Africanist and communist links and for being the leader of the Kenyan patriotic and progressive forces from all over Kenya, Odinga was not only a threat to the reactionaries in KANU led by Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya, but also to imperialism led by the United States of America. Through the intrigues manufactured by the US intelligence services and executed by, among others, Tom Mboya, Odinga,

and his comrades were frustrated out of the government and KANU.

When this happened Odinga and his comrades immediately formed Kenya People's Union (KPU). KPU gathered together Kenyan patriots, progressives, and revolutionaries from all ethnic groups and demanded the end of the dictatorship, land grabbing, corruption, greed, tribalism, and nepotism of the Kenyatta regime. Odinga was arrested and detained many times by the Kenyatta regime as other progressive patriots including Bildad Kaggia, Peter Young Kihara, and Oyangi Mbaja. Others like Pio Gama Pinto, Kungu wa Karumba, and later Josiah Mwangi Kariuki were assassinated by the regime that was determined to maintain its dictatorship and tribal-based neo-colonial capitalist system at all costs.

Yet, Jomo Kenyatta was the son of ordinary peasant parents. He was a worker at the City Council of Nairobi. Because he was educated, the anti-colonial petitioners who were illiterate or semi-illiterate singled him out and mobilised funds and sent him to London to take their petitions directly to the British government from there. While in the UK he met and mingled with many Pan-Africanists and even communists. Upon return to Kenya in the early 1950s at the eve of Mau Mau uprising, Kenyatta was associated with Mau Mau and militant nationalists and imprisoned. He was a very popular political prisoner and people from all over the world demonstrated demanding his release.

The Kenyan masses loved and believed Kenyatta so much that when he was finally released from prison they built a house for him. Odinga, Kenyan nationalists, and patriots made him the leader and the first President of Kenya. But no sooner had he become President than he betrayed the wishes and aspiration for

the independence of the Kenyan masses. He became the leading land grabber in the country. His regime is remembered for dictatorship, tribalism, nepotism, corruption, greed, political assassinations, and the system of exploitation of person by person. The foundation of neo-colonial capitalism impeding sustainable development, social and national progress of Kenya today was constructed by colonialism and sustained by the Kenyatta regime.

The successive Presidents and their regimes from Daniel Moi, Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta follow the nyayo or footsteps of Jomo Kenyatta to maintain the status quo of neo-colonial capitalism that continues to marginalise and ravage the majority of Kenyans who languish in the cycle of poverty and underdevelopment in a country that is the that is the largest economy in the region.

This brings us back to the original question, who is best suited to be the President of Kenya in the 2022 national elections? Is it the sons and daughters of millionaires and billionaires who inherited their money, property, and political leadership positions from their parents who acquired them through primitive accumulation, state positions, corruption, and unbridled capitalism ravaging the country and the masses to this day?

Or should the President emerge from the sons and daughters of the poor peasants and workers who rose from the underclass and somehow managed to acquire and own billions of money and immense properties which helped them to wriggle themselves into the positions of political and economic power in the country that they occupy today?

We have seen from examples cited in this article that being a progressive or reactionary leader does not necessarily depend on the class origin of the person. Rather it depends on the class

position the person identifies with, his ideology, and the political system adopted by his leadership. A person from the ruling class of exploiters and oppressors could become a people's leader if he or she joins the class of the exploited and oppressed and champions their class struggle aimed at overthrowing the reactionary system and instead establishing a progressive one without exploitation of person by person.

On the other hand, a person may be born of the class of the poor exploited and oppressed but adopt the ideology of the exploiters and oppressors and take the side of maintaining the status quo of the capitalist system.

The capitalist system is reactionary as it is based on the exploitation of person by person. The socialist system is progressive as it is based on class equality and the elimination of exploitation of person by person. Leaders who strive to maintain the capitalist system are the enemies of the majority of the people and impede freedom, liberation, and social progress. Leaders who join the masses to struggle for and build socialism are people's leaders and heroes as they are on the side of history and that of the majority of the people.

The current crop of politicians and their political parties that Kenyans are made to choose from by the press to vote for as President in the 2022 national elections—Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka, Gideon Moi, Musalia Mudavadi and Moses Wetangula—are not suitable leaders for the majority of the people and country. They will add no value to the struggle of uniting the country and of using the country's rich human and natural resources sustainably to eliminate poverty, landlessness, inequality, and underdevelopment. These reactionary leaders strive to stop the wheel of history from rolling forward. They use

the capitalist system that includes the state to roll back the progressive reforms made by Kenyans hitherto.

Some of these leaders inherited thousands of acres of land stolen by their parents from Kenyans, many of who are either squatters, landless or poor peasants with hardly enough land to eke a living. They wish to be in power to protect the land and property that was grabbed by their parents. They are therefore an impediment to the struggle for progressive land reforms. They are motivated by greed, egoism, and the worship of money and therefore work to conserve the neo-colonial capitalist system in Kenya.

Those like Kalonzo Musyoka, William Ruto, and Moses Wetangula who are sons of peasants and workers have amassed land, property, money, and wealth and have abandoned their class origins and joined the ruling class of Kenya to defend the capitalist system of exploitation of person by person. Like the leaders of Jubilee, KANU, and ODM political parties they are now part and parcel of the reactionary politics of tribalism, corruption, and reaction.

There also are governors and members of the civil society that are preparing to join the race of the Presidential elections in 2022. Some of them are still members of the parties of the ruling classes of Kenya and hope the parties will nominate them to vie for the seat of the President when the time comes. Others are searching for parties or coalitions outside those of the ruling classes to offer them the tickets to vie with.

The individuals in these categories cite what they think is their good performance as governors of their counties as enough reasons to be trusted with the top leadership of Kenya. The problem is that they also believe that the capitalist system that has failed to bring freedom and development to the majority of

Kenyans hitherto could be reformed to liberate the country. Yet, the progressive reforms made by and through the Constitution of Kenya of 2010—and that the ruling parties of the ruling classes led by Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga through Handshake and BBI are already dismantling—have not succeeded to remove the system of exploitation of person by person.

History continues to reveal that the majority of Kenyans cannot be liberated within the capitalist system. Capitalism and its inherent social contradictions are so entrenched in our country that ultimately it does not need to be reformed but must be annihilated and replaced by socialism for the country to progress. Leaders who are afraid of this truth are not and cannot be the saviours of the majority of the people of Kenya. We should not elect the next President of Kenya from among them.

CPK's candidate for President of Kenya in 2022 will be a person committed to transforming Kenya from a capitalist state and society into a socialist state and society. It does not matter which ethnicity or race he or she comes from, we shall embrace him or her as our candidate as long as he or she is committed to leading Kenya along the socialist path of development. He or she may be from a working-class or capitalist class background. We shall vote for him or her as long as he or she is a person committed to the cause of moving Kenya towards socialism.

Yes, the road towards socialism in Kenya as elsewhere in the world will not follow a straight line. It will of necessity take into account the historical and material conditions of Kenya. It will also demand the creative application of scientific socialism. Socialism will develop not in a straight line but zigzags, leaps and bounds, one step forward two steps backward while passing through the progressive reforms made hitherto by the national

constitution of 2010, with the ultimate destination being socialism.

I reiterate, to find and get a suitable President for Kenya in 2022 national elections Kenyans must choose from outside the box. Choosing from outside the box must mean rejecting the present package of leaders and parties popularised by the press, intelligence services, and public money. It must mean electing a President committed to transforming Kenya from a capitalist-oriented country to a socialist-oriented country.

THE BUILDING BRIDGES INITIATIVE SYMPATHIZERS AND THEIR BOSSES BRACE THEMSELVES FOR MORE HUMILIATION

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Chairperson - CPK
14 May 2021

The BBI orphans are taking their debacle to the Court of Appeal. They have a right to do so. After all, those who have lost a beloved one spend a period of mourning before they accept the reality of death. BBI is as dead as a doornail. But let us allow the orphans and relatives of the departed one to mourn their way to court for the Constitution they attempted to amend illegally allows them this right. BBI has lost in the court of public opinion, and if they dare corrupt their way to a referendum, they can only face more humiliation by being outvoted.

The Communist Party of Kenya reaffirms that BBI is a fraud, as we have consistently said Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta must now come back to his sober senses and resign. He has failed to observe chapter six of the Constitution, and the Kenyan justice system has thwarted his attempt to interpret the Constitution to favour his billionaire class.

BBI is a political document to intensify the dictatorship of the rich; there is nothing for the Kenyan workers and the poor. Communist Party of Kenya joins the Kenyan people to welcome the court ruling to call BBI what it is—a product of fraud anchored on illegality.

CPK holds that the state has always been a machine of oppression of one class by another while the Constitution is part and parcel of its coercive instruments. In Kenya, the state is a machine of the neo-colonial capitalist class of exploiting and oppressing the class of the majority composed of workers, peasants, and the working class in general.

The Constitution is part of the coercive system of the state of performing a definite role for the exploiters and oppressors in this regard.

This ultimately means that it is the class that controls political and economic power that interprets and implements the Constitution to maintain and perpetuate its rule over other classes. Therefore, the working class and other popular forces must struggle to capture and control state power to create and impose its Constitution for its class interests and that of the poor, exploited, and oppressed.

In the meantime, it is essential to note that the 2010 constitution contains many progressive articles that could be utilized to enhance progressive reforms that could improve the welfare of the masses and even charter the road towards social progress and socialism.

That is why CPK joins those opposed to the reactionary BBI report being forced upon Kenyans by Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, and their sycophants and collaborators. There is an urgent need to implement the progressive articles contained in the 2010 constitution before organizing its genuine and participatory review and amendment.

WHY EZRA CHILOBA IS NOT FIT FOR INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION TOP OFFICE

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP

14 December 2016

On 7th December 2016, Mr. Ezra Chiloba, the Chief Executive Officer of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) caused a lot panic and confusion after announcing that all Political Parties and candidates for the 2017 general elections should register with the Commission the details of their Campaign Financing Committee by the deadline date of 8th December 2016 (the following day). Hundreds of Kenyans who think that they might vie for various positions in 2017 hurriedly opened bank accounts and rushed to the IEBC offices where amid great pandemonium, they submitted the required information.

There are three issues arising from this announcement that make Chiloba unfit to hold the IEBC top secretariat position. The first issue was that the announcement for candidates to comply with the December 8th 2016 deadline was procedurally illegal. This is because even though the Election Financing Act 2013 provides for this deadline date, the same Act requires that the Commission develops regulations which must be approved by the National Assembly, and gazetted before such sections of the Act can be implemented. The National Assembly is yet to approve the regulations, a fact that the CEO recognised, but still went ahead to make the announcement. That is also the reason why even though the Act commenced on 10th January 2014, no candidate in the numerous by-elections that have been conducted by the Commission since that date have ever been asked to comply with those provisions of the Act.

Furthermore, even if the deadline was in order, the fact that the CEO saw it proper to announce it only one day to the deadline either shows the Commission's lack of preparedness for the forthcoming elections, or shows that there may be a deliberate plan to disrupt the 2017 elections by causing confusion and chaos. Some sections of the media have quoted Chiloba saying that the law has been there since 2014, and everyone ought to have been aware of the deadline since 'ignorance of the law is no excuse'. This again confirms that Chiloba does not understand the role of the Commission, or the gravity and sensitivity of elections in Kenya, especially after what we witnessed after the 2007 general elections. The Commission has a duty to inform Political Parties and the public of any significant dates and deadlines towards the 2017 elections well in advance. A good example is in the fact that even though all Kenyans were expected to know that the next general elections would be held on the second Tuesday of August in 2017 in line with the Constitution, the Commission still went ahead to announce the date of 8th August 2017 over two years in advance. By claiming that Kenyans ought to know of all the statutory deadlines by themselves, then Chiloba is setting this country up for chaos.

Thirdly, even if the National Assembly had approved the regulations and had them gazetted a year before the deadline, the Commission still has a duty to read the Act alongside other election laws, rather than implement it mechanically and in isolation. This is because the Election Act requires Political Parties to furnish the Commission with lists of their candidates at least two months before the elections. It is only after Parties and independent individuals furnish these names to the Commission that candidates come into existence. By reinforcing the illegal deadline of 8th December, then the Commission has in essence

declared that a person becomes a candidate by opening a bank account and submitting the details to the IEBC!

When there is a clash of laws, a responsible Commission is expected to seek for interpretation and direction from the Judiciary, rather than create confusion. A responsible CEO should inspire confidence in the election process rather than breed distrust. The timing of the announcement and the arrogance after the announcement are an indicator that under Chiloba, we are headed in the wrong direction.

The next IEBC Commissioners must have the courage to make tough decisions with regards to changes in the management of the Commission. They must have the courage to implement the constitution fully by ensuring that we have credible elections on the 8th of August 2017. In order for them to do this, they must work with the National Assembly, the Judiciary, the Political Parties and independently so as to only implement statutory laws that will enable them to fulfil these constitutional obligations.

As the Election Act stands today, any Political Party can invite the Commission to conduct and supervise their Party nominations before two months to the general elections. This will not only be impractical because of lack of time and strain on resources, but it will also set up the Commission to a perception that it would favour a Party that it has already worked with in the nomination elections and therefore interfere with its (perceived) neutrality. Assuming that the law remains as it is, will the Commission go ahead and implement it regardless of all the underlying issues?

The Act also provides that the independent candidates present 'the names that they intend to use' in the general election to the Commission, unlike previously where the Commission was required to print their names as they appeared on their identity

cards. What this means is that an aspirant may sponsor several independent candidates using names that are similar to his/her opponent's and therefore confuse the voters. This is not far-fetched as it has already happened in India. Assuming that the Act remains the same, will the Commission implement such a provision as it is? Wouldn't that be a recipe for post-elections chaos in 2017?

Rather than sit back and claim to (mechanically) follow the law, the Commission should, in consultation with Political Parties Liaison Committee (which is made up of all the Political Parties, the Registrar of Political Parties and the IEBC) and other stakeholders recommend to the National Assembly practical and reasonable comprehensive amendments to all the election laws. The Commission must also have the courage to refuse to implement any statutory law that may contradict the expectations outlined in the Constitution and which may affect the integrity of the 8th August 2017 elections.

MEMORANDUM ON THE PUBLIC ORDER AMENDMENT BILL NO. 14 OF 2019

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK
8 May 2019

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) wishes to make its representation concerning the intended amendment of the Public Order Act, through the Public Order (Amendment) Bill (National Assembly Bill No. 14 of 2019).

The Bill intends to insert subsections 11A and 11B under section 5 of the Act.

With regards to subsection 11A, we wish to state as follows:

That while the subsection seeks to punish "grievous harm, damage to property or loss of earnings" that are caused during public meetings or public processions, the Party objects to the inclusion of the term "loss of earnings" since it lacks a clear definition, is vague and is too broad. This vagueness and broadness may cause interpretation that offends Article 24 of the Constitution of Kenya since it may lead to subjectivity and misuse by the national security agencies.

The Party proposes that the term "loss of earnings" be deleted from subsection 11A.

With regards to subsection 11B, the Party wishes to state as follows:

That the subsection seeks to punish organisers of public meetings and processions if an individual who participated in the meeting/procession is convicted for offences mentioned in subsection 11A.

The Party wishes to strongly oppose the shifting of any responsibility to the organisers of public meetings/processions for the following reasons:

1. Public meetings and processions are a Constitutional right. The attempt to shift responsibility of an individual who breaks the law to an individual who has exercised his/her constitutional right in the correct manner is a direct infringement on the latter's right to enjoy his/her rights. This shift of responsibility will have the effect of preventing patriotic Kenyans from exercising their civil/political rights for fear of being blamed for what they have not done.
2. It is the principal duty of the police and other law enforcement agencies (including the National Intelligence Service) to enforce the law and to arrest those who commit crimes. This principal duty cannot be transferred to the organisers of public meetings/processions.

   Furthermore, a crime only becomes a crime when it is being or it has been committed. This subsection seems to suggest that organisers of public meetings/processions can somehow get into the minds of potential criminals and therefore somehow prevent the crime from happening. This is not only absurd but is also unconstitutional.
3. Criminal culpability is personal. It is not transferable.
4. If such an absurd proposal was to become law, then it would be prone to misuse by political opponents, criminals, as well as rogue law enforcers. The Kenyan Police have been known to use agent provocateurs in attempts to turn peaceful demonstrations into violent ones. It is highly likely that the Police or political opponents would plant individuals to cause chaos so as to ruin the reputation, credibility, and now add criminal

responsibility on their political opponents and patriotic citizens.

5. The Penal Code already guides the courts on how to treat those convicted, and this also includes compensation for the victims. The Penal Code, and rightly so, places this responsibility on the convict, and not on other people as this proposed amendment seeks to do.

Our recommendation is that subsection 11B should be removed from the amendment altogether.

Lastly the Party proposes that the National Assembly should pass a law that heavily punishes any police officer, police commander, public administrator or any Public/State Officer who violates the right to peaceably demonstrate, assemble, picket and present petitions as enshrined under Article 37 of the Constitution. Other than violating the supreme law of Kenya; many peaceful meetings/processions become chaotic when the police violently break them up by use of tear gas, violence and bullets. It is during such chaos that criminal elements in the society take advantage of the confusion caused and go ahead to loot, rob and cause grievous harm both to the participants of the meeting/procession and to the members of the public.

STATEMENT ON MPEKETONI-LAMU KILLINGS

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
16 June 2014

We in the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) express our deepest condolences to the families of the victims of the Mpeketoni Killings in Lamu County, and we wish the injured a quick recovery.

We demand that the Jubilee Government takes responsibility of Security in Kenya, instead of issuing empty pronouncements while the safety of Kenyans keeps on deteriorating.

The following paragraph is lifted from the statement that the Party issued after the Westgate attack, and the same analysis still applies:

> *"We have in the past pointed out the fact that the Kenya Police, under the leadership of Inspector General David Kimaiyo has been occupying itself with futile matters; for instance the power struggles with the Constitutional Police Service Commission; and other trivial matters while criminal gangs continue to terrorize and kill Kenyans in Tana River, Nairobi, Isiolo, Wajir, Bungoma and other regions in the country. The Security infrastructure has been using huge resources to spy upon good citizens, 'to manage' peaceful demonstrations and curtailing civil rights in the city, whereas terrorists groups continue getting space and time to organize, causing a lot of pain to the residents. We are not saying that terrorist acts and attacks can be fully stopped, but we insist that the security arms in this country need to get their priorities in order."*

MAY DAY 2021 SOLIDARITY MESSAGE TO KENYAN WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONS

Booker Ngesa Omole, National Vice-Chairperson - CPK
30 April 2021

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) sends greetings of comradeship and solidarity to you Kenyan workers and your fellow workers of the world as you commemorate this year's historical International Labour Day! We reiterate the communist's slogan to workers of the world by the founder of scientific communism, Karl Marx: Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!

The Kenyan society will always be grateful to you workers for being the primary movers of the economy and culture of our nation through your labour. CPK is a workers' political party since we champion the class, ideology, and political interests of the workers and your allies: the working class, the peasants, the urban and rural poor, and all those who reject capitalism and struggle for socialism. That is why we always support you Kenyan workers and your immediate struggle of demanding the realization of your constitutional right to form, join, belong to, and organize free trade unions of your choice.

Yes, Kenyan workers continue to demand for the democratisation of trade unions and the realization of civic and political liberties. We agree with you that trade union leaders must come out of free, fair, transparent, and democratic elections. The practice of imposing individuals who are corrupt, dictatorial, and traitors as leaders of trade unions is a betrayal of the workers and the struggle for workers' interests. This anti-worker practice must be opposed and condemned by you workers and all progressive people and organisations in the country.

You Kenyan workers know who your betrayers are: the trade union leaders of the status quo who have turned trade unions into their personal property that they use to become millionaires and billionaires by selling workers to the exploiters, oppressors, tribalist politicians and political parties, and the successive reactionary regimes. On this May Day, CPK joins you, workers, in condemning these imposters of trade union leaders and reminding them that the workers know who they are and what they stand for and will not allow them to betray workers forever!

Furthermore, CPK calls upon all Kenyan workers wherever they are to continue with the struggle of building, belonging to, and consolidating membership in and of genuine trade unions. You must always organise, mobilise and struggle for your unity as workers and refuse to be divided along ethnic, racial and gender lines. Never accept to be bribed by the sycophants of the exploiters and traitors of the workers so as to elect the betrayers of your interests while rejecting your true leaders known to you. Stand with the heroes of your unions and cause to unite and struggle for your rights and liberation with them at whatever cost!

Workers, you are aware that trade unions are essential as they struggle to improve your living wages and other working conditions even under the present capitalist system. Capitalism is the system of exploitation of person by person. The truth is that while the struggle of trade unions leads to progressive reforms that improve the welfare of workers, they alone will not liberate the entire Kenyan society from capitalism. Workers need to belong to political parties to join the whole society to fight for a socialist system that will bring true freedom and liberation to Kenya.

Socialism is the system based on class equality and aims to organise and mobilise all in society to participate in active labour

of creating wealth and sharing the resulting benefits for the development of each and all. The true and reliable political parties which workers and genuine trade unions must belong to and support are communist parties, since communist parties struggle for socialism and ultimately communism. In Kenya, CPK is the workers' party. You workers and genuine trade union leaders should join, build and support CPK even while belonging to progressive trade unions.

This year's May Day celebrations are happening during the most difficult period in Kenya and in the world, caused by the COVID-19 global pandemic. The pandemic continues to ravage the country's economy that was already in ICU before the outbreak of the dangerous disease. The workers and working classes have suffered the most from the effects of the pandemic that have escalated unemployment, poverty, hunger, economic hardships, and suffering in society. In this COVID-19 pandemic period, corruption, abuse of power, and violations of human rights have increased with huge negative impacts on the workers and the working classes. While the government is bankrupt through reckless borrowing and mismanagement of the economy, billions are still being set aside for the campaigns and referendum of BBI constitutional amendments that are already a debacle!

As a consequence of this, a few days ago, members of CPK, Hospitality and Entertainment Workers Union (HEWU), and civil society organisations demonstrated in the streets of Nairobi demanding the implementation of the economic and social rights enshrined in the Constitution even as the government carries out the necessary protocols of curbing the spread of the dangerous contagious virus. The demonstrators explained how the closure of small businesses such as hotels and restaurants, restrictions of movements in the cities and within and between counties had

escalated unemployment, poverty, and suffering of workers and citizens. They called upon the government to implement the necessary mitigating measures of safeguarding the workers and the poor from the escalation of the already harsh living conditions caused by, among other causes, the COVID-19 pandemic.

During the demonstrations, CPK members and workers also demanded the end of implementing the neoliberal economic policies that are driving the country deeper and deeper into the quagmire of debt burden and dependency. They also demanded the end of the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the IMF that include privatising the economy and services that are making matters even worse for the workers and the working classes.

Sadly, rather than the government authorities receiving the peaceful demonstrations and responding to their genuine demands, they instead unleashed the instrument of terror and violence upon the demonstrators. The police violently suppressed the peaceful protests. Many workers and CPK activists were arrested, taken into police custody, and charged in court. Several were fined before they were released.

What is worse, the police violently invaded and surrounded the national offices of CPK. This is outrageous! It was aimed at ridiculing and undermining the legally registered political party that represents the interests of the workers, the working-class, and the poor. Violence was also used to intimidate the workers to stop them from joining and participating in peaceful demonstrations to demand their rights even though peaceful demonstrations are constitutional rights.

However, CPK and the workers were not and will never accept to be intimidated by the violence of the state to stop struggling for the rights of workers and the exploited and

oppressed. Many members and leaders of CPK were at the forefront of the struggle that brought about multiparty democracy and progressive reforms in the country that are entrenched in the present national Constitution. With the workers and working classes, CPK will never sit down and allow anybody or any power whatsoever to pull the country back to the old dark days of dictatorship and blatant violations of human rights. We shall do whatever it takes to defend the democratic gains won by the Kenyan workers and masses hitherto.

CPK salutes all individuals, political parties, and organisations of Kenya and the world who either participated in the worker's demonstrations or provided moral and material support when it was needed.

The struggle spearheaded by CPK and workers continues!

Long live free trade unions of Kenya!
Long live the unity and struggle of Kenyan workers!
Long live socialist internationalism!
Long live CPK!
Long live May Day!
Long live the struggle for socialism and communism!

MAY DAY MESSAGE 2019

Mwandawiro Mghanga, National Chairperson - CPK
1 May 2019

The CPK salutes you the workers and working classes of Kenya as you celebrate May Day. Workers and your class allies, who include the peasants, have always been in the forefront in the production of material wealth in Kenya as elsewhere in the world. May Day was brought about by the bloody struggle and sacrifices of the exploited and oppressed workers against the capitalists. The day therefore reminds you that all the gains that the workers and oppressed have achieved hitherto in bettering their wages and working conditions have been brought about not by the sympathies of the employers and their governments, but by consistent united struggle of the forces of change and progress—the workers and their class allies. No capitalist anywhere in the world has ever bettered the condition of his or her workers without being forced to do so by the united struggle of his/her employees.

So as we celebrate May Day, we join Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism to reiterate the message: Kenyan workers wherever you are, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains! Refuse to be divided along ethnic, race, sex or age lines! Come together in the common struggle of demanding better living wages and better working conditions. Join trade unions and strengthen them by ensuring that they are led by true, honest and accountable leaders who do not betray workers' interests through conspiring with employees for selfish interests! Remove traitors out of your trade unions even while you strengthen unity within them! Trade union leaders demand that no employer should violate the constitutional right of all workers

of Kenya to form, join and belong to a trade union of his/her trade or choice!

Politically, you workers have always been in the frontline of the struggle for progressive change in Kenya. Workers and your allies the peasants, led the struggle for Kenya's national liberation from British colonialism. You were also in the forefront in struggle for multiparty democracy, the Kenyan Constitution and progressive political reforms. However, your lives and living conditions have hardly changed for the better. You are still paid slave wages and work under slave like conditions. Your rights are trampled underfoot by your employers and the State with impunity. You and your families live in poor dwellings or slums in both urban and rural areas. You live a hard life of poverty, ignorance, hunger and want. When you and your families fall sick, you die of curable diseases as you cannot afford medicine or adequate health care. Your children are made to inherit the cycle of poverty, suffering and underdevelopment as you cannot afford to offer them the good education which has been made inaccessible to the children of the classes of the poor.

Yet you work hard every day. The country has also enough resources and wealth to ensure that all Kenyans realise the economic and social rights outlined in Article 43 of the Constitution of Kenya. The problem is that the ruling class together with their national and county parliaments, political parties and State institutions continue to contradict, with impunity, the Constitution of Kenya, particularly Article 10 by imposing the capitalist system upon the workers, the working class and the majority of Kenyans.

Capitalism is the system whose ideology and economic arrangements are based on private property and exploitation of

person by person. That is why the capitalist regime is privatising everything public—water ports, airports, sugar companies and industries and other government parastatals and giving them to the rich. The best social services too, schools, universities, colleges, health and recreational facilities, etc. are private and therefore are inaccessible to most workers. The capitalist class and ideologues in power do not care that privatisation causes you workers to lose jobs, increase poverty and widen the gap between the majority poor and the few rich. Capitalism is the system that always favours the few against the majority. It is the mother of social inequality, exploitation and corruption. It breeds poverty, unemployment, greed, violence, crime, landlessness and many social evils and problems. It also creates the conditions of recolonization of our country through unfavourable and unsustainable foreign debts and investments.

It is for these reasons that in the struggle for the Kenyan Constitution, you the workers, and the majority of Kenyans wanted to remove the capitalist system and to replace it with the socialist system based on class equality and social justice and progress. In fact—read it—the spirit of the Kenyan Constitution is that of creating the socialist system that creates conditions of ensuring that all Kenyans participate in the political, economic, social and cultural life and accrue and share benefits thereof in order to nurture a just, progressive and humane society. Yes, moving towards socialism is the desire of the majority of Kenyans which they put in the Constitution, but that has been betrayed by the ruling class.

In summary, CPK's message to the Kenyan workers and working class in this May of 2019 is:

Continue strengthening your trade unions and fighting for better and better wages and working conditions for workers. But

never forget that you workers are part and parcel of Kenyan society. Furthermore, you will never achieve freedom and liberation under the capitalist system but utmost only reforms that makes your suffering under the system less painful. True freedom and liberation of the workers, working class and the masses of Kenyans will follow after the removal of the capitalist system and the establishment of the socialist system. You Kenyan workers must be in the forefront of the political struggle of liberating the whole of Kenyan society from capitalism.

In this political struggle you workers must search for and find your true allies. Throughout the world the true political allies of the political struggle of workers and progressive trade unions are communist parties. In Kenya your true ally in the struggle for true freedom and liberation—socialism—is the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK). In this May Day of 2019 we urge all the Kenya workers to join and support CPK for it is the workers' political party.

Long live May Day!
Long live trade unions in Kenya!
Long live Kenyan worker's political struggles!
Long live socialism and communism!
Long live CPK!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA CONDEMNS THE DREADFUL TERROR ATTACK AT THE WESTGATE MALL, EXPRESSES ITS CONDOLENCES TO THE FAMILIES OF THOSE KILLED, AND WISHES QUICK RECOVERY TO ALL THE INJURED

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - SDP
21 September 2013

Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP) condemns, in the strongest terms possible the heinous and cowardly terror attack at the Westgate Mall, Nairobi. SDP also expresses condolences to the families of the workers, patrons, relatives of victims and all Kenyans and non-Kenyans whose loved ones have been killed or injured in this terrorist attack. We wish quick recovery to all those who have been injured in the attack. We congratulate the patriotic efforts of all those who are directly and indirectly involved in the rescue operations at the Mall and at the various hospitals. We are in solidarity with the Medics, the Kenya Red Cross team, the civilians and the Security forces that are still working tirelessly to solve the present difficult hostage situation.

We should not speculate, neither should we be silent

We also ask the Kenyan public to avoid speculations and allow the police and the security agents to conduct their operations and investigations so as to bring all those involved to justice.

This, however, does not mean that we escape the responsibility of pointing out the weaknesses and lack of vigilance by those who are responsible for security within our borders. We have in the past pointed out the fact that the Kenya Police, under the leadership of Inspector General David Kimaiyo

has been occupying itself with futile matters; for instance the power struggles against the Constitutional Police Service Commission; or other trivial issues, while criminal gangs continue to terrorize and kill Kenyans in Tana River, Nairobi, Isiolo, Wajir, Bungoma and other regions in the country. The Security infrastructure has been using huge resources to spy upon good citizens, 'to manage' peaceful demonstrations and curtailing civil rights in the city, whereas terrorists groups continue getting space and time to organize, causing a lot of pain to the residents. We are not saying that terrorist acts and attacks can be fully stopped, but we insist that the security arms in this country need to get their priorities in order.

Avoid Generalizations

Even though the initial witness reports from the media indicate that some of the assailants could be of Muslim faith, and that some were seen to be of Somali origin, we ask Kenyans to avoid any generalized condemnation of any religion or ethnicity, but instead join hands and act together in the fight against terrorism, since history, including our recent experiences here in Kenya have shown us that terrorism knows no colour, race, religion or ethnicity. We should not allow the terrorists to succeed in dividing our country along religious and ethnic lines.

September, month against global terrorism

It is a sad coincidence that the attack at Westgate Mall has occurred in the month of September, a month globally dedicated to the global war against terrorism, especially terrorism that is organized and planned within the United States of America, and exported throughout the world. SDP had/has organized several events against global terrorism, which included talks in the Universities, movies and discussions at Ufungamano Centre, and even a presentation of a petition against US President Barrack

Obama condemning his country's hypocritical stand on the war on terror, where on one hand they condemn terrorism, and on the other hand continue to jail the Five Cuban Anti-Terrorist Heroes. SDP has always maintained that the war against terrorism cannot be won by double standards or through imperialist hegemonistic policies.

Kenyans should not be cowed

SDP asks the Kenya government and the African Union not to relent, but rather to intensify the efforts of bringing peace and stability in Somalia and the region despite the cowardly response from terrorist organizations like Al-Shabaab.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA STANDS WITH THE AVIATION WORKERS' STRIKE!

Benedict Wachira, Secretary General - CPK
6 March 2019

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) stands in full solidarity with the aviation workers' strike that is being led by the Kenya Aviation Workers Union (KAWU).

CPK strongly condemns the arrests of the Union leaders, the violent dispersal of striking workers by the Police, and the barbarism exhibited by the Cabinet Secretary for transport, Mr. James Macharia when responding to the concerns of the aviation workers.

The workers have raised serious, national and legitimate concerns that must be addressed by the Government.

The attempts by the Uhuru Kenyatta led Government to privatise the Kenyan Airports through the back door, that is, through Kenya Airways is unacceptable, illegal and illogical.

It is unacceptable because as Kenyans we cannot allow the airports, which form part of our national assets having been built by Kenyan taxpayers to be stolen by a few rich people for their own personal benefit.

It is illegal because the whole process has not been subjected to public participation and parliamentary approval.

It is illogical because it makes absolutely no sense for Kenya Airways, a company that has been consistently making losses in the billions, year in year out, to be allowed to run the airports when it cannot run itself successfully.

The workers have also raised queries on why Sebastian Mikosz, the Chief Executive Officer of Kenya Airways is earning sh8 million a month when the rest of the workers are being paid

peanuts. They have asked why the top management have paid themselves over sh1.3 billion within a period of 18 months, at a time when the airline is still struggling with losses.

It is absurd that what Sebastian Mikosz earns in two months is what the President of Kenya earns in a whole year!

There is also the concern of casualization of workers at the airport and privatisation of airport departments through outsourcing of critical services to private entities including sensitive aspects human resource management. The causal workers are denied the right to join unions among other constitutional and statutory rights.

These are legitimate questions that the Government must respond to. We cannot allow such kind of institutionalised thievery to continue.

Today, the Transport Cabinet Secretary, Mr. James Macharia dismissed the striking workers as a "bunch of criminals". He appears not to understand that workers have a constitutional right to demonstrate and picket. Or perhaps he is intentionally violating the Constitution of Kenya; an act that makes him the real criminal.

James Macharia's assertions that the Airport is a national security installation doesn't make it illegal for workers to exercise their constitutional right, but it actually takes us back to the question of the attempted back door privatisation of the Airports, specifically:

Why is this Government planning to privatise a national security installation? Why is a Kenyan security installation being run and managed by a Norwegian foreigner by the name Jonny Andersen? Since Kenya Airways is a significant player at this national security installation, why is it being run and managed by a Polish foreigner, by the name Sebastian Mikosz? Can we have

a British General, or an Al-Shabaab Commander heading and managing the Kenya Defence Forces? Or overseeing security at State House?

The Communist Party of Kenya demands that the planned privatisation of JKIA and other Kenyan airports be stopped with immediate effect.

The Communist Party of Kenya demands for the immediate and unconditional release of KAWU Secretary General, brother Moses Ndiema and all other Union leaders and workers who have been arrested.

The Party further demands that the Government publicly responds to the queries raised by KAWU; that the Government stops all attempts at stealing the Kenyan Airports; and that the greedy and immoral thieves who are responsible for the attempted privatisation of Kenyan Airports be charged in a criminal court alongside those who have institutionalised theft at Kenya Airways.

Lastly, the Communist Party of Kenya reminds and warns all those who exercise impunity while stealing public resources through privatisation that they shall face dire consequences when the Party comes into power in the near future.